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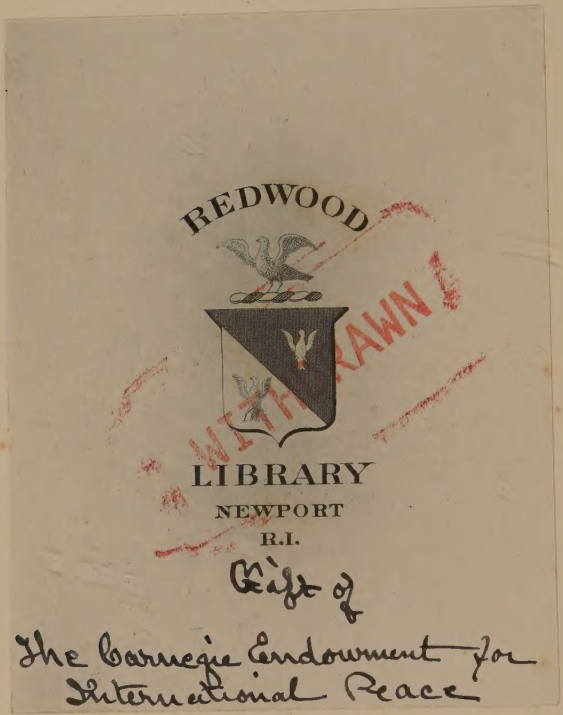
AMERICA'S MESSAGE TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE



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International Peace

AMERICA'S MESSAGE TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

ADDRESSES

BY THE

MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL DIPLOMATIC MISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES TO RUSSIA
IN THE YEAR 1917

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE addresses printed in this book were delivered in Russia and immediately after returning from Russia, by members of the Special Diplomatic Mission sent by President Wilson in May, 1917, to express to the people of Russia the friendship and sympathy of the United States.

Many things have happened since the return of the Special Mission, and many friends of Russia have become despondent because of the discord and disorder which prevail in many parts of that vast country. The following quotation from one of these addresses may be useful for them:

> The newspapers are filled with accounts of disputes, of political conflict, but how is it possible for a nation which began in the beginning with no government at all, with no institutions, with no habits of thought or action adapted to the exercise of the powers of government, how is it possible for them to avoid disputes and controversies? When you read in the newspapers about what happens in Russia, I beg you to remember how the people of Europe looked upon the condition of America for many a long year after the peace that ended the American Revolution. How certain they were that the new experiment in democracy was a failure. How they sneered and laughed at the presumptuous farmers who sought to govern themselves. I beg you to remember what Europe thought of the condition in America in those long dark years of civil war, when it was believed that the American experiment had failed at last.

At the time of the American Revolution, the American colonists had more experience in the difficult art of self-government than any other people in the world; yet it took them eleven years from their Declaration of Independence to reach an established government under the constitution of 1787, and there was still left a great unsettled question which required four years of civil war to determine. The Russians have had less than a year, and they have had the

distress of exhaustion, the weariness of a terrible war, and the constant disturbance of a vast and insidious German propaganda, taking advantage of their inexperience and frustrating their steps in the direction of rational development. The chief factor, however, in determining the result must be the underlying character of the people, and I think that every member of the Special Mission is firm in his opinion that the character of the Russian people makes them competent for free self-government and practically certain, after all their disputes and experiments, to establish and maintain such a government.

ELIHU ROOT.

JANUARY 31, 1918.

AMERICA'S MESSAGE TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

FOREWORD

THE thirteen British colonies of America which joined in the declaration of independence on July 4, 1776, laid down certain principles which were revolutionary then and now, and which will engender revolutions until they shall triumph, not merely in the minds and hearts of men, but in the form of government and in the practice of nations.

The last people to confess its faith in the right to alter or abolish a form of government which had become destructive of the ends for which it was formed, and to institute a new government " as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness " is the Russian people; and like the revolutionary statesmen of 1776, the revolutionary statesmen of Russia of 1917 have issued an appeal to the peoples in accordance with " a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

We do not know at present the history of the movement which resulted in the abdication of the Romanoffs and the substitution in their place of a government " of the people, by the people, and for the people." We know that the leaders of thought in Russia have prayed, have lived, have worked, have died for better things, and we who believe in better things know that they have not worked and died in vain. The immediate cause of the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty seems to have been the issue of two *ukases* suspending the sittings of the Duma and the Council of the Empire; but behind these was the longing for better things which took advantage of the condition produced by the unwisdom of the Czar, just as it would have taken advantage of a favorable turn of affairs at some future time.

On March 15, 1917, the Czar abdicated the throne, which was in fact no longer his, in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael, and the latter, either believing in the American doctrine of the consent of the governed or not quite sure that the brother could pass title to what he no longer possessed, would apparently have none of it unless the people would insist upon his accepting the throne. The following is the text of the Czar's abdication:

> We, Nicholas II, by the Grace of God, Emperor of all the Russias, Czar of Poland, and Grand Duke of Finland, etc., make known to all our faithful subjects:
>
> In the day of the great struggle against a foreign foe, who has been striving for three years to enslave our country, God has wished to send to Russia new and painful trial. Interior troubles threaten to have a fatal repercussion on the final outcome of the war. The destinies of

Russia and the honor of our heroic army, the happiness of the people, and all the future of our dear Fatherland require that the war be prosecuted at all cost to a victorious end. The cruel enemy is making his last effort, and the moment is near when our valiant army, in concert with those of our glorious Allies, will definitely chastise the foe.

In these decisive days in the life of Russia we believe our people should have the closest union and organization of all their forces for the realization of speedy victory. For this reason, in accord with the Duma of the Empire, we have considered it desirable to abdicate the throne of Russia and lay aside our supreme power.

Not wishing to be separated from our loved son, we leave our heritage to our brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, blessing his advent to the throne of Russia. We hand over the Government to our brother in full union with the representatives of the nation who are seated in the legislative chambers, taking this step with an inviolable oath in the name of our well-beloved country.

We call on all faithful sons of the Fatherland to fulfill their sacred patriotic duty in this painful moment of national trial and to aid our brother and the representatives of the nation in bringing Russia into the path of prosperity and glory. May God aid Russia.

The following is the text of the Grand Duke Michael's statement:

This heavy responsibility has come to me at the voluntary request of my brother, who has transferred the imperial throne to me during a period of warfare which is accompanied with unprecedented popular disturbances.

Moved by the thought, which is in the minds of the entire people, that the good of the country is paramount, I have adopted the firm resolution to accept the supreme power only if this be the will of our great people, who, by a plebiscite organized by their representatives in a constituent assembly, shall establish a form of government and new fundamental laws for the Russian State.

Consequently, invoking the benediction of our Lord, I urge all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, established upon the initiative of the Duma and invested with full plenary powers, until such time, which will follow with as little delay as possible, as the Constitutent Assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, shall, by its decision as to the new form of government, express the will of the people.

The following, omitting the names of the Cabinet, is the text of the appeal of the Executive Committee, a charter of liberty and of a nation's hope:

Citizens: The Executive Committee of the Duma, with the aid and support of the garrison of the capital and its inhabitants, has succeeded in triumphing over the obnoxious forces of the old régime in such a manner that we are able to proceed to a more stable organization of the executive power, with men whose past political activity assures them the country's confidence.

[The names of the members of the new Government are then given and the appeal continues:]

The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

First — An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.

Second — Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials within the limits admitted by military requirements.

Third — Abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

Fourth — To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental régime.

Fifth — The substitution of the police by a national militia, with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the Government.

Sixth — Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

Seventh — The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

Eighth — While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

The Provisional Government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned.

On March 22, 1917, the American ambassador to Russia, the Honorable David R. Francis, formally recognized the Provisional Government on behalf of the United States, in the following language:

I have the honor as the ambassador and representative of the Government of the United States accredited to Russia, to state in accordance with instructions, that the Government of the United States has recognized the new Government of Russia, and I, as ambassador of the United States, will be pleased to continue intercourse with Russia through the medium of the new Government. May the cordial relations existing between the two countries continue to obtain. May they prove mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

Paul Milukoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, replied in the following words:

Permit me, in the name of the Provisional Government, to answer the act of recognition by the United States. You have been able to follow the events which have established the new order of affairs for free Russia. I have been more than once in your country, and can bear witness that the ideals which are represented by the Provisional Government are the same as underlie the existence of your own nation. I hope that this great change which has come to Russia will do much to bring us closer together than we have ever been before. During the last few days I have received many congratulations from prominent men in your country, assuring me that the public opinion of the United States is in sympathy with us. Permit me to thank you. We are proud to be first recognized by a nation whose ideals we cherish.

On May 12, 1917, the Department of State thus announced the members of a Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States of America to Russia:

ELIHU ROOT, of New York, *Ambassador Extraordinary.*

CHARLES R. CRANE, of Illinois,
JOHN R. MOTT, of New York,
CYRUS H. McCORMICK, of Illinois,
SAMUEL R. BERTRON, of New York,
JAMES DUNCAN, of Massachusetts,
CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, of New York,
} *Ministers Plenipotentiary.*

Major-General HUGH L. SCOTT,
Rear-Admiral JAMES H. GLENNON,
} *Ministers representing the Army and Navy.*

President Wilson himself prepared and transmitted to the Provisional Government of Russia the following address:

In view of the approaching visit of the American Mission to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia, and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the past few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race, to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat, those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are

making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair, or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to he undoing of the very men they are using.

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force.

The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being rewoven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the *status quo ante*. It was the *status quo ante* out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will, and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No

indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation, that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another.

The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire; and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous, but we cannot afford then or now to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security.

On June 13, the Mission arrived in Petrograd. It left Petrograd on its return July 9, sailing from Vladivostok July 21, and during the interval between these dates Mr. Root, Mr. Mott, Mr. Duncan, and Mr. Russell delivered in Russia and in the United States upon their return the addresses which are published in this little volume. They embody the message carried by the Special Diplomatic Mission from America to the people of Russia. However chaotic and discouraging the situation in Russia has since become, we have a right to hope that after the turmoil and anarchy which have followed the downfall of despotism in Russia shall have worked themselves out, the seed thus sown will bear its life-giving and consoling fruit.

On April 16, 1816, the great Napoleon is reported by De las Casas to have said, after referring to the perilous situation in which the continent of Europe then was, that " in the present state of things before one hundred years all Europe may be all Cossack or all republican." Let us hope that, whether Cossack or republican, the new Europe will accept the principles of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and make them realities.

In selecting a chairman for the Russian Diplomatic Mission, President Wilson signified the importance he attached to it, by naming Elihu Root,

who as Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Senator of the United States has an international as well as a national reputation.

Mr. Root's profound and sympathetic interest in the Russian revolution had been evidenced, prior to his appointment, by letters addressed to officers of two public meetings held in New York City, to hearten, encourage, and acclaim the patriots who organized and piloted it. These letters appropriately introduce the series of addresses made by Mr. Root while in Russia, and since his return:

LETTER TO CHARLES R. FLINT, MARCH 24, 1917

I regret that I am prevented from attending the meeting to be held tomorrow evening by friends and sympathizers with the Russian people. I agree with your purpose. I look with satisfaction and joy upon the establishment of free self-government in Russia. I have confidence in the permanence of the new popular government, as against all possible reactions, for two main reasons.

The first reason is the admirable self-control which the leaders of the new government and their followers as well have exhibited. That is the supreme test of a people's capacity for self-government. All men worthy the name are brave. All men worthy the name are patriotic; but only those who can keep their heads cool, restrain their passions, and love justice even while they strike, are fit for popular self-government. The people of Russia are answering nobly to that test; and while they continue in the same spirit — as I believe they will — their new government will be impregnable against all reactionary movements.

The second ground for my confidence is that this wonderful change in Russia marches with and is part of the mighty and I believe irresistible movement of the whole world to substitute democracy for autocracy in human government, and to build up the structure of justice and liberty, of right and duty and service, from the bottom instead of accepting them from human superiors. No earthly power can reverse or stop that movement. It may appear to be delayed or hindered here and there, but it continually proceeds everywhere, nevertheless. No human power can put Russia back where she was but a few weeks ago. Whatever comes of good or ill, the old order cannot return. Russia must go on. She will go on, and the hopes and prayers of all liberty-loving people of America will go with her.

Let us rejoice that this terrible war, which the arrogant ambition of Prussian militarism has forced upon the world, has at last arrayed against the lingering autocracies of Germany, Austria, and Turkey the combined democracy of the world; that upon one side the spirit of

the age maintains the principles of human liberty; that upon the other the spirit of the dark and cruel past strives for the continuance of absolutism. The issue is not doubtful. A little sooner or a little later it is inevitable. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs will fall, and the mighty and universal forces of democracy will prevail.

Ah, if only the good people of Germany themselves might soon remember and breathe again the spirit of their earlier days — the spirit of '48, the spirit of the great philosophers and poets and leaders who inspired the patriots of that time with a passion for liberty!

Sincerely yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

LETTER TO AUGUSTUS THOMAS, SECRETARY OF THE INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS, NEW YORK, APRIL 17, 1917

I am unfortunate in having to be away from New York on the 23d, so that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Institute that evening to join in greeting and congratulation to the writers and artists of Russia upon the great achievement to which they have contributed so signally. They were the voice of Russia during the long years in which the Russian people were denied opportunity for political expression. Through them were communicated the impulses of sympathy and hope which made their people one with all their fellows in other lands, who were pressing on the development of democratic self-government and the extirpation of autocrats and dynasties. To these men whose vision and lofty courage have inspired the literature and art of modern Russia remains the task — even more critical and exacting — of guiding wisely their new free government. The conduct of that government has been admirable in its wisdom and self-restraint. Yet, there will be trials. Turbulent and untrained spirits within, and sinister and corrupt intrigue from without, will encourage dissension and seek to destroy the new democracy by creating those divisions and controversies which paralyze power. Faint hearts will be discouraged, and even the wisest will be often in doubt; but the power of democracy will prevail. Russia will not divide or be led astray, because the unity and stability of a forward-moving purpose will be hers. She will not fight her battle with her own self alone. She is one of a great company of free peoples who are giving the lie all over the world to the false dogmas of autocracy, and are proving the capacity of humble men to rule themselves with self-control and justice and respect for law, and to maintain their freedom with the power of union and subordination of self. Russia will not swing idly in an eddy, but will move on with the world

stream, impelled by that mighty and irresistible force which urges on the development of thought in our time to the destruction of all autocratic government and the creation of universal democracy. Happy must be our brothers, the writers and artists of Russia, to have lived to see the light of this wonderful day, and to grasp this opportunity for service.

I am sure the Institute of Arts and Letters in sending to them messages of cheer and hope will truly interpret the feeling of all America.

With kinds regards, I am,

Always faithfully yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

THE MISSION TO RUSSIA

ADDRESSES BY ELIHU ROOT

ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS PETROGRAD, JUNE 15, 1917

On June 15, 1917, the members of the Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States to the Provisional Government of Russia were presented to the president and members of the Provisional Council of Ministers at Petrograd, by the ambassador of the United States, the Honorable David R. Francis, who said:

> Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of service, these Americans have cheerfully responded to the call of President Wilson, and are here to perform an important duty. I feel it a great honor to present this Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States to the Provisional Government of Russia.
>
> Permit me to introduce to the Council of Ministers the distinguished chairman of the Mission, the Honorable Elihu Root, former Secretary of War, former Secretary of State, former Senator of the United States, always a true American.

Mr. Root thereupon made the following address:

THE Mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and the people of the United States of America with a message to the Government and the people of Russia.

The Mission comes from a democratic republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a president who holds his high office as chief executive of more than one hundred million free people, by virtue of a popular election in which more than eighteen million votes were freely cast and fairly counted, pursuant to law, by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

For one hundred and forty years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we have still maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence.

Under the security of our own laws we have grown in strength and prosperity, but we value our freedom more than wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed, that America might be free. We believe in the competence and power of democracy, and in our heart of hearts abides a faith in the coming of a better world, in which the humble and oppressed in all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

The news of Russia's new found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land, sympathy and hope went out towards the new sister in the circle of democracies; and this Mission is sent to express that feeling. The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia, greeting, sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, and Godspeed.

Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life, which must give form to the government and to the laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life. As we look across the sea we distinguish no party and no class. We see great Russia as a whole; as one mighty striving and aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, the essential kindliness, the strong common-sense, the courage and the noble idealism of Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessings upon you all. We believe that you will solve your problems; that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order has everywhere passed away and the world is free.

One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and of her allies. The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight now when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union, and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

So America sends another message to Russia; that we are going to fight, and have already begun to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours, and our cause yours, and with common purpose and the mutual helpfulness of firm alliance, make sure the victory over our common foe.

You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress, when, on the second of April last, he advised the declaration of war against Germany. He said:

> We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government [the German Government], following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no

indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

And you will see the feeling toward Russia with which America has entered the great war in another clause of the same address.

President Wilson further said:

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their naïve majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom, the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest.

The practical and specific methods and possibilities of our allied coöperation, the members of the Mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, PETROGRAD JUNE 21, 1917

ON behalf of the Mission for which I have the honor to speak, and in behalf of our country on the other side of the world, I thank you sincerely and warmly for this hospitable and sympathetic reception. It is very grateful to us to see upon this list of speakers the names of so many men distinguished in the active life of great Russia. It is very encouraging to us to see represented here the Provisional Government of Russia and the officers of those local governments, for the merit and perfection of which the Russian people have so long been known throughout the world, and the representatives of those great branches of finance and production and associated industries without which no modern civilization can exist.

The Mission has no function to discharge in respect to industrial or commercial life. That was intentionally excluded from the scope of its duty. We came to Russia to bring assurances of the spiritual brotherhood of the two great democracies, and we came, moreover, to learn how we could best do our part as allies of the Russian democracy by material as well as spiritual aid, in the great fight for the freedom of both our nations. But we did not wish that any element of advantage for America, any project for profit to America, any lower or more material motive should find its place in the message that we bring to Russia. Yet, when the war is over and the world is by victory made safe for democracy, then, of course, as between brothers who have fought together, mutual knowledge and confidence and friendship will lead to all those relations of industrial and commercial

life which make up the peaceful activities of the civilized world.

It was not easy, my friends, for America to make up its mind to enter the war. America is a peaceful people. We love peace and we hate war. Far away from the conflict across the ocean, it took us long to realize the true meaning of this great war in which you have been fighting, and it was not until we had slowly, step by step, reached the firm conclusion that our liberty was in danger with the liberty of the rest of the world, that we nerved ourselves to enter the conflict.

We came to see that Germany had foresworn and repudiated every principle of modern civilization. We came to see that all those rules for the conduct of war which for centuries civilized men have been formulating and agreeing upon to make war less terrible, every one of them was violated intentionally and systematically by Germany. We came to see that the principle of action of the military autocracy that rules Germany was based upon a repudiation of all moral obligations of states. We came to see that Germany had avowed that the faith of treaties was nothing to her unless it was to her interest to keep them. We came to see that the law of nations was as naught to Germany when it thwarted her purposes. We came to see, finally, that the military power of Germany had brought back into the world the principles of action of those dark and dreadful days of a barbarous past when there was no liberty in the world, and that if mankind was to be free it must put an end to this powerful and ruthless enemy of freedom. And so, cheered and encouraged by the freedom of Russia, to be henceforth our ally and our friend, we entered the war, and we are going to fight until the world is made safe for democracy. For your democracy as well as ours. So that no arrogant, over-bearing, military caste shall push us off the sidewalk.

We are new to war. We have a small army. We cannot move at the beginning very rapidly, but we have enrolled for military service ten million men, between the ages of twenty and thirty. We have first to train officers, and the few thousand officers of the regular army are now engaged in various camps over the country in training some forty thousand young men as officers. As soon as they are sufficiently trained we shall call, and have ordered the call of five hundred thousand men to be trained by those officers. Then we shall repeat the operation, training more officers and having them train more men, and go on so long as it is necessary to win this war. We are mobilizing all the industries of the country. Congress has by law put under the control of the President over 250,000 miles of American railroads. All the manufacturing establishments are put under the direction of the general government and required to manufacture war materials, supplies, and munitions at no greater profit than is allowed by the government as being fair and reasonable. The entire food production of the country is put under the direction of a chief of food control, and that chief is the gentleman who has had charge of the Belgian relief work during the past three years, Herbert C. Hoover. We have set all the shipyards in the country at work to build ships by the thousand to take the place in the transport of supplies of those vessels which are destroyed by the German U-boats. In the meantime, we are sending a division to the lines in France and Belgium to fight there as an advance guard of American soldiers, by the side of the soldiers of Belgium, France, England, and Russia, who are fighting there. In the meantime, our ships of war are already in European waters engaged in the crusade against the U-boats which are destroying the peaceful vessels of commerce that are carrying supplies to Russia and England and France and Italy.

We offer you no comradeship of ease, no grudging or stinted coöperation, but the assurance of action, action, action, until the time when the new democracy of Russia, crowned with the greatest achievement of history, may stand side by side with the old republic of the United States.

Now indulge me while I say a word to my American friends here. It is not enough, my friends and brothers from America in Russia, it is not enough that our Government sends its message to Russia. It is not enough that the people of America look from the other side of the world with hope and courage to Russia. You Americans who are here in Russia represent your country. Your attitude towards the Russian democracy and your spirit will be interpreted as the spirit of democracy in America. Your fathers and mine did not win and maintain our liberty by pessimism. We won our liberty and we have maintained it for these centuries by confidence in the power of democracy, by faith in the people. We have maintained peace and order and liberty by respect for law and by holding up the hands of the Government. Whether it was an established and settled government, or a provisional government, or a revolutionary government, that government which represents at the time the will of the people for the maintenance of law and order and associated effort in behalf of liberty and justice, that government your fathers and mine have always maintained. Upon your Americanism, upon your loyalty to your own country, do it now, here. Carry no faint hearts about the streets of Petrograd. Teach these people in Russia, who are new to the government of democracy, that you, who are old to it, have faith in it and they will gain added faith and loyalty and support for their government from your faith; and so you will be in harmony with the people you have left at home, who believe in Russia and have hope and courage for Russia and pray for Russia.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIAL ASSOCIATED COMMITTEES OF MOSCOW, JUNE 22, 1917

THE Mission for which I speak was sent to Russia to express the sympathy of the United States, of the entire democracy of the United States, for the Russian people in their new found freedom, and their struggle to create and maintain orderly self-government. It is not in prosperity and ease that one's sympathies go out to a friend, but in struggle, in conflict, when the hard tasks of life are to be accomplished. There is no phase or part of Russian life with which the people of America sympathize more deeply than they do with you in the work that you are now striving to accomplish. We can sympathize with it because we have been through it ourselves. We have made many mistakes, we still are imperfect in our government, and we know how hard it is for a people to govern themselves in accordance with the laws of justice and humanity. And we have had more than one hundred and thirty years to accomplish our task, while you have had but three months.

It is not, Mr. President, that we see in the happenings in Russia since we came cause for criticism, but we marvel at the self-control, the kindliness of spirit, and the sound common sense that the Russian people have displayed. Believe me, we feel that in the work that you are doing in these committees you are on the right path towards an assured and permanent democracy. For popular self-government must come not from above; not by fine theories; not by formulas, but it must come from the willing participation of all the people who govern themselves. That independence of individual character which is cultivated and developed by

individual effort for the public good is the solid foundation for free government. It is the hope and prayer of the American people that you may have full scope and opportunity to develop yourselves, your free government, in accordance with the needs of your character and your life in Russia. It is a cause of joy to the democratic people of the United States if they can help to give to the Russian people the opportunity to work out their own system of government in accordance with the genius of Russian character. It is a cause of joy to us if we can help to keep the new Russian democracy from being prevented, by the terrible military power of Germany, from establishing and developing their own free government. We have learned in free America that the system of government, the principles, the motives, and the methods of German military autocracy will be fatal to our liberty and fatal to yours; and we rejoice that we can help to save both great democracies from that frightful danger. The government of Germany, the social system of Germany, the socialism of Germany, are all militaristic in their essential nature. They shall not find control in free America, and if we can help you to prevent their finding control in free Russia, we shall be happy in feeling that we have done something towards perpetuating the ideals of our fathers who fought and sacrificed to make us free.

I thank you for listening so kindly to me and for permitting me to come before you to speak. I will close by saying that the people of America are all a working people; they work hard, early and late; they love liberty and they work for it; and their hearts go out to you who are working for the liberty and honor of your country, because they recognize you as brothers in a common cause. Long live Free Russia and Free America!

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MOSCOW DUMA, JUNE 22, 1917

I THANK you heartily in the name of the Mission from America for your hospitable and flattering reception. I thank you for your kind references to the President of the United States and to that free democracy of America which we represent to the democracy of Russia. You say, Mr. Mayor, that Russia is ill and infirm. I have heard from many lips since reaching Russia expressions of anxiety and despondency for the fate of the new democracy, but I refuse to believe them. Russia is not infirm; Russia is young in her democracy, and with sincerity of purpose is groping to find the right way, that she may do the right thing.

We in the United States of America have faith in Russia, and as the representatives of our country, we carry with us that faith in Russia firm and unchanged. Let me tell you why we have faith in you. First; because we know that you have practiced the art of local self-government, through such institutions as this Duma, with success and fidelity to justice and with distinguished honor to your country. That is the true basis of national self-government; practice in local self-government. And so, although you have been deprived of the opportunity for national self-government, deprived of the opportunity to apply your ideas of democratic free self-government in the nation as a whole, nevertheless you will find the way to expand your experience in local self-government until it is adapted to the great task of guiding and governing the entire nation. You who have respected your own customs and local laws, and by the force of your local public opinion have enforced them, will establish national

laws, and by the union of all the cities and sections of Russia in a universal public opinion, you will give respect to the law of the nation and will enforce it. That is the true method of self-government; not to receive it from above by constitutions, however skillfully prepared; by theories, however brilliant; but to build it up from below by individual self-government; by habits of respect for law, and by a healthy public opinion.

The second reason why we have confidence in your success is that we know the kindly heart of the Russian people, the common sense of the Russian people, the innate respect for the rights of others that dwells in the Russian people. The members of our Mission, sir, have frequently spoken to each other of the marvelous spectacle we have witnessed since we landed upon the shores of Russia several weeks ago, of this vast people practically without any enforcement of law, practically without policemen to compel observance of the rights of others, yet in the main, with few exceptions, remaining peaceable, orderly, respecting each other's rights, considerate of each other's feelings and interests, and waiting only for the construction of a government under which their extraordinary qualities of self-control can make a firm and perpetual structure of law and order. You will make mistakes; you will have to retrace your steps here and there; you will find imperfections, but you will step by step go on to develop a structure of competent and successful free self-government. I speak with confidence because I know how many mistakes we have made in America during the one hundred and forty years through which we have been developing our free self-government; and to us who know how hard the task is, how many mistakes we have made, it is not a wonder that you have not made greater progress in the three months of your freedom, but it is a wonder that you have done so well.

A third reason why we have faith in you is because we know the capacity of the Russian character for self-sacrifice for an ideal. Many Russians have given up their lives in years past; many Russians have lingered in prison; many Russians have suffered hardship, in order that Russia might sometime be free; and we know it cannot be possible that Russians now are unwilling to make further sacrifices that Russia may remain free. We know that Russia cannot fail to value the prize that has been won at so high a price of suffering and of death. We know you must love liberty. We know that Russia cannot be materialistic, wedded to ease and comfort, indifferent to the higher good of her people, indifferent to the ideals of liberty which are to make over the world and lift up the poor and the oppressed who labor and suffer in many lands, to a heritage of opportunity and freedom. We know you cannot fail to love liberty when it has been bought at such a price as Russians have paid for it. We know that hundreds of thousands of Russians have given up their lives fighting for the Czar, and we do not for a moment believe that Russians now will not be willing to risk their lives fighting for Russia and Russia's freedom. That is the test of a people's power to maintain liberty; that they are willing to make sacrifices for liberty. No people can have liberty without paying the price. There is an old saying, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." More than that, it is an eternal truth that constant struggle is the price of liberty. And we are sure that Russia will not give over the struggle until her liberty is secure. We know that in the Russian heart there are cherished ideals that are far above the material, gross, daily needs of life. We know that Russia, free, with high ideals, with courage unsurpassed, jealous of her liberty, will never begin the career of the new democracy by being false to the ideals of liberty in the world.

There is another and broader reason for our faith. It is a reason that has grown with our people in America from the days of their early struggles against cold, hunger, and savage foes; through all the trials by which they have won and maintained their freedom; it is that we have faith in the triumph and perpetuity of Russian freedom, because we have an abiding faith in the power of democracy. You are not alone. You do not walk alone upon the pathway of self-government. One of those great movements of the human mind that no man can control or measure is taking place throughout the whole world. The conception of government solely by command of a superior power is fading from the minds of men throughout the world; and the new conception of government by the will of the governed, imposing the limitations of justice and right conduct upon themselves, is taking its place the world over. Yesterday was the day of emperors and kings; today is the day of the plain and humble man who works and endures. The progress of that majestic movement of mankind, that great development of civilization, cannot be turned back. It may be retarded here and there; it may be held for the moment by an obstacle here and an obstacle there; but that irresistible progress of mankind cannot be turned back in Russia, in America, anywhere on earth. It must and will proceed to work out its final fruition. No man can measure the time or the place where that fruition shall be reached. You are not alone; your history in Russia during the last two months is but one chapter in the great history of the advance of the human race along the pathway to this higher civilization which comes with freedom and universal opportunity and enlightenment.

The one obstacle that holds that progress for the moment, and only for the moment, is the sinister power of the military autocracy of Germany. That power which repudiates the faiths of treaties; that power which avows its

purpose to violate the laws of nations whenever it finds it to its interest to do so; that power which has erected among the peaceable people of the earth a vast military machine against which no unorganized peaceable people can stand; that power which avows that no moral laws control the state, but that the morality which you and I acknowledge as obligatory upon us in our relations to each other, has no control of the state, and that the supposed interest of the state is superior to all moral law; that power which has revived amid the civilization of the twentieth century all the worst of a dreadful, barbaric past and has enthroned and is endeavoring to enforce upon the world principles of conduct which, in cynical disregard of humanity and law and faith and morality, which in brutality and selfishness, have not been seen in this world since the fall of the Roman Empire. That power stands now as the one bulwark of the dark powers of the past against the triumphant advance of the light of a better day for mankind. No peaceful democracy can live beside it. America feels in its heart that it cannot live in its peaceful security by the side of the German military autocracy, and be safe. America feels that the new freedom of Russia cannot live as a neighbor to the military autocracy of Germany, because there is no middle ground between defense by military power, and subjection. Our faith in your working out a system of free self-government, adapted to the conditions and the character and the genius of the Russian people, is marred by but one doubt; and that is the doubt whether you will be able to protect the right to develop your own free government against the malign and sinister control of German autocracy. And it is because we know that your young liberty cannot live beside German power, and our own liberty cannot live beside German power, and freedom all over the world cannot live beside German power, that we have come to say to you that we have entered this war in the

service of freedom for you as well as for ourselves; to fight with you; to give our blood and treasure with you for the perpetuation of liberty in the world, Russian and American. We will stay with you to the end in that conflict, certain of its triumphant success; and we will stand with you, our old flag with its stars and stripes floating beside your new flag of Russian freedom, in the triumph of liberty over autocracy. Until that time comes, our labors, our blood, our treasure, our brotherly affection and our prayers are with you in your work.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE WAR INDUSTRIES COMMITTEE AT MOSCOW, JUNE 23, 1917

IT is a great pleasure for me and for my associates in the Mission to be received by this Committee, because we have learned in America to appreciate very highly the extraordinary work that you have already done in your country. I do not think that we have fully appreciated, however, the difficulties under which you have labored. A study of the conditions in Russia since our arrival reveals those difficulties to be far greater than we had supposed. That increases our admiration for the courage, the persistency, and the public spirit with which you have carried on the great work of the last three years. I observe with some distress that there are influences operating now, attempting to influence the industrial conditions in Russia, which would tend to destroy the success of your future efforts. Of course, if the revolution is now to proceed to the destruction of all industrial enterprise, that must end your work, and there are plainly some malign influences which desire to accomplish that result. I have, however, the greatest confidence in the sincerity of purpose and the strong determination of the Provisional Government at Petrograd to combat and counteract these influences and to maintain the industrial system of the country. It is so plainly indicated by the conditions that the way to maintain industrial efficiency and continue the work of your committee is to stand by and support the authority of the Provisional Government, that I cannot doubt that such support will be freely and continuously given. A very cheering incident — more than an incident — a step in the progress of the revolution, is

the action recently taken in Petrograd by the General Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. I refer to the resolution of that General Council of representatives from all Russia, welcoming the association and coöperation of capital and labor, of industrial enterprise and the proletariat. It may well be treated as the basis for the future development of your constitutional government. That resolution of that Council contrasts so sharply with the incitement of the sinister influences that are attempting to destroy the industrial life of Russia, that it may well be accepted as the authoritative declaration of the people of Russia, so far as they have yet been able to secure a representative assembly, in favor of the preservation of industrial life and enterprise.

Let me say a word about our work in America along your lines. Of course, we are quite new to war in America. We have had only little wars, and the idea of a whole nation mobilizing its industries for the support of a great army is quite new to us; but the people of the country are so thoroughly convinced that it is necessary for them to defend their liberty, that they cannot remain free and independent in the same world with a predominant militaristic autocracy such as exists in Germany, that they are gladly yielding themselves to the constraint and sacrifices of the new system. We have had a little army. It had been supplied by ordinary purchases in the market, and by very few and small government manufacturing establishments. But now we have enrolled for military service ten million men between the ages of twenty and thirty. We have the few officers of our regular army now engaged in training some forty or fifty thousand men for new officers for commissions in the larger army. We have ordered a corps of five hundred thousand men from those enrolled to come out just as soon as these forty to fifty thousand officers now being trained will be ready to train the men. In the meantime, we shall go on

training another set of officers to train another set of men, and we shall continue that as long as it is necessary. In the meantime we are sending an advance division to the line in France and Belgium, and our men-of-war are now in European waters chasing U-boats.

Behind this provision we are mobilizing the industries of the country. All the railroads — I think over 250,000 miles — are put under the direction of the Government, — the first time in our history that this has ever been done. All the manufacturing establishments, makers of munitions and supplies of all kinds, and of the raw materials from which munitions and supplies are made, are put under the direction of the Government, and the Government is authorized to require them to produce the necessary supplies at prices which shall not yield any profit in excess of the profit fixed by the President as fair and reasonable. The food production and distribution are put under the direction of a new department of food production and supply, and for the direction of that we are utilizing the services of Mr. Hoover, who was at the head of the Belgian Relief. In the meantime also, the Government is putting itself directly behind and in support of the work of the Red Cross, which has hitherto been supported solely by voluntary contributions. Very great increases are being made in the contributions for the support of the Young Men's Christian Association work, which has been so extensive on the French line and on the British line in France and Belgium, and until the break with us, also on the Austrian line, and it has also begun on the Italian line. So that the services of that organization for the entertainment, the comfort and the instruction of the soldiers in their camps and immediately behind their trenches, may go forward on a larger scale than ever before.

Our friends in England and France and Italy have been very kind to us in sending over in various commissions,

gentlemen who have had great experience in war industries in their own countries; and we hope to profit by the mistakes which they tell us they have made and which I am told you have made; and profiting by these warnings, we are going to try not to withdraw from the industries of the country, for the purpose of the fighting-line, the men who are necessary to carry on the industries. So we are going to do our best and we are going to keep on doing it. I am happy to say that in the industrial situation in America, American labor is satisfied with the conditions, and its opportunity under the protection of law to develop its increasing prosperity by evolution. No part of our people have been more cheerful, loyal, and earnest in giving support to this whole system both of raising and maintaining an army and of industrial mobilization for its support, than the laboring men. We have the eight-hour law under national statutes, but the labor people of America cheerfully and with alacrity have assented to putting into the President's hands the right to suspend the operation of that eight-hour law and to call for labor during much longer hours and under more severe conditions, because of the immense public necessity of pressing forward the work in every direction.

Mr. Duncan, one of our Mission, who is one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, assents very heartily to the statement I have just made about the attitude of our laboring people. I wish that the laboring men in Russia might become fully acquainted with the way in which the laboring people in the United States, after long experience in maintaining their own rights, look at their relations to the Government and the need of the country at this time.

Now I have talked to you too much about ourselves, but it is sometimes encouraging when one is at work very hard and very earnestly, to feel that there are others in sympathy,

engaged in similar work and pressing forward in the same direction. I have said so much, in order that you may feel that you have not merely the sympathy of rhetoric, but the sympathy of workers in the same cause. I want to have you feel that you are not alone, but that in America the good men, the loyal men, the men who really desire better things for their country, who wish that their people shall be free, are earnestly doing the same kind of work that you are doing for Russia. You have our most earnest sympathy for the future of your great undertakings.

[There followed several addresses in Russian and in French, after which Mr. Root said]:

Let me say a word regarding your references to the supply of locomotives and cars. The first thing this Mission did after its appointment and before leaving Washington, was to recommend to our Government that it put itself behind the order which the Russian Government was then ready to place, for 500 locomotives and 10,000 freight cars, and that was done, the Government making a credit of $100,000,000 and arranging with the manufacturers to expedite the filling of that order. There were already prior orders for 375 locomotives and about 10,000 freight cars, which are now in process of being filled. I suppose the first installment has been delivered by this time; if not, it is no doubt upon the ocean, and the manufacturers are ready to go on with deliveries under the old order.

The new order, which was made just before we left, for 500 locomotives and 10,000 cars, will come on right after those deliveries. It is the view of this Mission that that process should be continued, our Government making credits and expediting manufacture for still further orders; but the limit of the possibility of supply is not money, not capacity for production; it is shipping. The supply of locomotives is going on now and will continue to go on to the full extent

of the possibility of shipment across the ocean. We have begun to build ships in order to take the place of those destroyed by the submarine warfare. It takes time, as you know, to enlarge greatly manufacture in any industry, but we hope before very long to make very material additions to the shipping of the world, so that we expect to increase the supply of rolling stock for your railroads.

I will add also that investigation has shown both to the American experts who were invited here and to their Russian associates, in recent inquiries into railroad administration, that very great increase in efficiency of transportation can be brought about by some changes in organization. You can come very near doubling the efficiency of the rolling stock you have in this country now, and I hope that will be accomplished.

Of course, when any industry, whether it be transportation, or manufacture or distribution, is organized for one set of conditions and then new and more onerous conditions must be dealt with, you have got to change your organization to meet the new conditions.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ZEMSTVO UNION, AT MOSCOW, JUNE 23, 1917

I THANK you very much for permitting the Mission from America, for which I have the honor to speak, to visit you and to look into your faces, and to listen to the account of the great work in which you are engaged. We feel that here there is something more than oratory; there is service, and that is the real thing. Your work has not been unknown to us in America. One of the chief grounds for confidence in the newly formed revolutionary government was the presence at its head of Prince Lvoff, who so long and so ably directed the affairs of your union. We feel that you are not merely engaged in the necessary work of supplying the Russian army, but that you are exhibiting to the world the highest evidence that Russia is a living force, worthy of freedom. For in these two respects you show that you are building up self-government upon solid foundations. Liberty is a natural right to which all men may aspire, but self-government is an art which must be acquired. Liberty without the capacity for self-government is a fatal gift. Now, you base your work upon individual enterprise and local association organized and united for a natural purpose. This is the way that self-government is built up so that it can endure. This is the way in which the self-government which preserves and maintains our liberty and justice in America was built up.

People wonder how the old bureaucracy was cast off so easily and suddenly. I think I begin to see that it was because underneath that cover which sought to repress the Russian people, the Russian people were growing in capacity for freedom. It is your work which is the true avenue and method

of the growth of the people. The other respect in which I say that your work is of the highest importance, and is the highest evidence of the fitness of Russia for freedom, is that without arguing or reasoning about it, you are illustrating the true principle necessary for the maintenance of freedom; and that principle is the principle of service. One always loves another for whom he has to care. If a people are to love their country and be willing to maintain its freedom, they must serve their country. The principle of free self-government is the principle not what I can get out of the country, but what can I give to the country. The bureaucratic government which you have cast aside, was composed largely of men who only thought of what they could get out of the country. You have brought into the life of Russia a great service, people who are seeking to know what they can give to their country. And so I have abiding faith that the government which is being built upon such foundations, will accord with the character, the life and the genius of the Russian people. I believe that you have not only been serving your soldiers at the front, but you have been laying foundations for your liberty — the liberty of the Russian people; the foundations upon which will be built the great structure of Russian liberty in the future, — that structure which will stand for many centuries to come.

And so, we all feel honored and proud to meet you and to hail you as friends in the great work of liberty and justice the world over. If America can help you in your work tell us what to do and we shall be glad to do it; for while peoples are many, separated by oceans and continents, liberty is one, the laws of justice and humanity are one code the world over; and for the maintenance of these laws we should all struggle together, as brothers and sisters of humanity.

ADDRESS AT THE MOSCOW PEOPLE'S BANK, MOSCOW, JUNE 23, 1917

I THANK you very much in behalf of the whole Mission from the United States for your very kind and hospitable welcome. This institution has been the object of very great interest in the United States. We have long felt that our banking system was defective. We had banks which were adapted to commercial uses, affording opportunities for the commercial and manufacturing people, and we had a great system of very strong and well conducted savings banks for the deposit of the savings of people of small means; but we had no agency through which the ordinary agricultural industry of the country could be accommodated. We have for a number of years felt that the proper development of our agriculture was limited by the absence of some such institution. Accordingly we have studied your work and your institution, and we are full of admiration for it and for the Russian people who have been able to organize it and to maintain it. We hope to learn from it, we are learning much from it in the effort we are now making to establish agricultural loan banks throughout our country for the benefit of the agricultural producers of the country. It is a very great pleasure and honor for us to be received by you and to listen to these explanations of your institution, and we thank you sincerely.

We join with you in the determination that the national system of development, of finance and industry, of the modes by which the people may develop their own prosperity, shall not be taken away by Germany, either by force or by fraud. We feel with you that, unless resisted, the imposition of the

German control upon our country would result in having what may be a very efficient system but still German and not ours; and we feel sure that the result of such domination would be that we should become a subject nation to the German power, and we do not mean that that shall ever happen!

ADDRESS AT THE MEETING OF THE BOURSE OF MOSCOW, JUNE 23, 1917

THE Mission from the United States, for which I speak, appreciates very highly the hospitality and the friendship with which you have received us here; and we thank you for being so good as to come together for the purpose of meeting us.

This Mission has no concern with commerce or industry or profit. The instincts of the American democracy were that the vital point upon which all commerce, all industry, all profit in the future, and liberty itself depends, is the prevention of the domination of the military autocracy of Germany in the free and of necessity less completely organized democracies of the world. The function of this Mission was intentionally limited especially to alliance and coöperation in the conduct of the war against Germany. We wished that no one should be able to say or to think that this Mission had come here to secure advantage or profit for America in trade or in industry. To our minds the domination of Germany is like a gas attack. When that poison gas rolls over the country nobody can breathe except a German, and we propose to join hands — to join hands with Russia — to destroy the machine that makes the gas. When that is done, when Russia has an opportunity freely to develop her system of government in accordance with the customs and genius of the Russian people, then will be laid the foundation for enterprise and industry, for great undertakings in the development of your vast natural wealth, and for the free intercourse of trade between you and the rest of the world, in which, we all hope, mutual friendship and labor together in a

common cause will include the people of the United States of America.

You are now experiencing the feeling of uncertainty. Certainty after all, is at the basis of your occupation. It is at the basis of all trade; at the basis of all financial development; at the basis of all successful enterprise. Certainty; certainty of protection by government and certainty of protection against government. Various of the older countries have had various ways of securing that certainty. By certainty, I mean that when money is invested in an enterprise, in a mine, in a farm, or in a manufactory, the people who are concerned in it, or who are invited to purchase an interest in it, may know that there is a government that will protect them in the exercise of the right to conduct that enterprise; and will not take it away as soon as it becomes profitable. Upon that the prosperity of every bourse in the world, and the prosperity of all enterprise for the development of all the wealth of all the countries in the world, depends; upon that security all these things must rest. In some old countries the natural conservatism of the people furnishes the security; that is so in England; it is so in France, and I judge that to some extent it is so in Russia. I say to some extent, because you are so new to free government here, and there appear to be conflicting ideas in some quarters. In the United States, being a new country, and not having long-established customs of many centuries to furnish this security, we undertook to create it by putting into our written Constitution certain rules of conduct which were binding upon the Government; that no man shall be deprived of his life, or liberty, or property except by due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without compensation; that no law shall be passed impairing the obligation of contracts, and other similar rules; and by this Constitution we limit the powers of all officers of government, so that they have no official

power to violate any of these rules. If any public officer undertakes to take away my property, or to prevent my just use of it, he is a trespasser, and I can prosecute him by law and make him pay damages or punish him for violation of my rights, and he is not protected by his official character. No public officer, no president or governor, or executive officer of any kind, no congress or legislature, or state or local body can overrule the judgments of the courts protecting all citizens in the possession of their private property and the exercise of their rights to use it. Accordingly, when the securities of any enterprise are offered for sale, in the American stock exchange, everybody knows that if he buys them he will get an interest in the property that cannot be taken away from him. The property may be good or bad, the enterprise may succeed or fail; the purchaser takes those chances, but one chance he does not have to take; he runs no risk of the property being taken away from the corporation or association that proposes to carry it on, and no risk that that association will be prevented from working out the enterprise and securing its fruits.

We shall look with the greatest interest to the work of your coming Constituent Convention to see how far you find it desirable, or find yourselves able to include guarantees and safeguards, against destroying the fundamental basis of enterprise, upon which your prosperity and the development of the wealth of Russia must depend. And to that effort, and to all your efforts for the establishment of a new and adequate political system, and for placing your industrial, and commercial system upon a sound and broader and more secure foundation, for ensuring the political, industrial, and economic freedom of Russia, and for keeping out from control over your lives, the domination, either military or political or financial, of the brutal and arrogant power of Germany, the sympathy and good wishes and hearty coöperation of the people of the United States will ever be extended.

ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN BY GENERAL BRUSILOFF AT GENERAL STAFF HEADQUARTERS, "STAFKA," JUNE 27, 1917

On June 27, 1917, the Russian general, Alexis Brusiloff, gave a luncheon at general staff headquarters, in Mogileve, in honor of the American Diplomatic Mission. After the luncheon, General Brusiloff welcomed the Mission in the following address:

Mr. Ambassador, I am glad that I have the honor to welcome you as representative of our new great ally.

Russia and America, — these are two worlds divided by oceans; but it is my wish that you who have conquered distances and have come as our dear and welcome guests shall gain the impression that your beautiful country is not distant, but close to Russia. Here, as across the ocean, you will find the same banner bearing the same great device, — liberty, civil, social, political, and national. America, which has long ago acquired the former, has now declared herself for the latter; as, without the independence and liberty of nations, all others are mere visions. Having just passed through changes such as history has seldom known, we are now deeply satisfied, feeling that our glorious allies are strengthened by a new and powerful support — the great transatlantic republic. Continuing the war with all the powers at our disposal, we shall fight not only for our own cause, fortifying the liberty we have recently acquired, but at the same time — hand in hand with you — we shall fight for the right of all nations to shape their destinies in accordance with their own desires.

With deep faith in our common and just cause, allow me, in the name of the Russian army, to welcome our great democratic ally and its glorious army, and also you gentlemen whom we are glad to welcome to our fraternal military circle.

Response of Mr. Root

I THANK you sincerely for your courteous and friendly greeting and for the kind things you have said about my country. It is most encouraging for America, which has entered the great war to be the friend and ally of the new democracy of Russia, to know that in the warfare in our common cause against the hateful autocracy of Germany, we will still have the advantage of your military genius, which the world esteems so well; and will still

have the benefit of that bulwark of liberty which the dauntless courage and fortitude of the soldiers of Russia are able to maintain against the aggressions of military autocracy.

We are peaceful people in America, but we have learned that we cannot continue a free people unless we prevent the supremacy of autocratic German power in the world. We have no hatred towards Germany, but we will not be subjugated by her, nor ruled by her. We have learned that her professions of friendship are false. For a long time, when we objected to Germany's murder of our innocent people, men and women and children, upon the high seas through her submarine warfare, Germany put us off with friendly words, and specious promises, and professions of desire to observe our interests. At last we learned by her own confession that she was but keeping us quiet in order that she might have time to build more submarine boats to murder our citizens more readily; just as Germany sends her troops to fraternize with the kindly Russians upon your front, and while protesting friendship there, she is at the same time murdering the Russian soldiers in German prison camps by cruel and inhuman treatment.

We are glad that you know the truth regarding this foe of liberty and honor; we are glad that you know that no faith and no morality and no humanity is to be found in the class that rules Germany; we are glad that you have learned, as we have learned, that if we are to maintain our liberty in Russia and in America, we must be able to make sacrifices for it, to fight for it, and if need be to die for it, in order that our beloved countries may live in freedom and not be subjected to a foreign power. And as brothers in that cause, the greatest that the world has ever seen; in behalf of the whole people of the United States, I give you the toast: To the indomitable Russian Army and to its heroic Commander-in-Chief, to whom be honor and success and glory to the end!

ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PETROGRAD, JULY 4, 1917

I AM sure I speak not only for myself and the other members of the Diplomatic Mission from the United States, but also for the ambassador of the United States to Russia and these gentlemen who have come as an advisory commission to endeavor to help in the transportation problems of Russia — I speak for them all in returning most hearty thanks both for the expressions which have been used today and for the substantial and real feeling we have found behind the expression. We have met in Russia everywhere the most kindly and hospitable reception. We have been met with the utmost frankness and sincerity and helpfulness. Everywhere in the government and among the many citizens of Russia with whom we have been brought into contact this has been true. We are deeply grateful for all that you have done for us, and for the spirit you have exhibited; and we shall go back to the United States to carry a report of all possible evidence of real friendship, real coöperation, real union, in a common spirit, between the two great democracies.

As we of the Diplomatic Mission are about to depart from Russia upon the coming Monday, I wish to say that we leave Russia with cheerful hope and confidence for the successful accomplishment of the great task which the people of Russia have undertaken. We leave with renewed faith in your competency, in all branches of your government and in all sections and grades of your people, to do the great work which you undertook when you dethroned your czar. And we base our confidence on substantial grounds — not upon patriotic words, not upon the expression of theories; not upon noble

sentiments alone, but upon what we find in the character of the Russian people — upon the real and extraordinary progress which the Russian people have made in organization under the most unfavorable circumstances — the organization of local self-government followed by the organization of local governments into great unions, with national scope and purpose, which have been so efficient in making possible a strong support of the Russian armies in the field during the war. And it is a knowledge of that great work which makes the presence of Prince Lvoff as president of the Provisional Government a source of satisfaction, and of confidence for the future.

We base our opinion also upon the evidences of capacity for individual enterprise which we have found in Russia — the capacity to inaugurate and carry on great enterprises by private initiative and independently of the government; and we base it still further upon the self-control, the essential kindliness, the tendency toward order and peaceful relations among the men in all Russian communities. These are the qualities which are the most essential for free government. All of those qualities which have wrecked attempts at self-government in the past because passion became supreme, seem to be absent from Russian character, and those qualities which have made permanent self-government by the people, seem to be in a high degree developed in Russian character. So we have faith in you. We shall go back and carry a message of confidence in the future of Russia and a message of cheer to our country, because we have no idea of a fleeting friendship, but a certainty of a permanent and persistent and effective ally in Russia, in the great war upon which we have so recently entered.

You so very kindly referred to the day which the people of the United States all celebrate. That day was marked by the American Declaration of Independence which framed the

issue in what was really civil war between two groups of the people of Great Britain. With many adherents upon both sides in the American colonies and in England, that war completely established not merely for the American colonies but for Great Britain, upon a broader and surer foundation, the principles of English freedom; and Sir George Buchanan and I look with kindly eyes at one another across this table, enjoying the inheritance of that same great principle of individual freedom which triumphed in what we know as the American Revolution. That principle is at stake again in the world today. Because it is at stake again, the grandchildren and great grandchildren of those who fought in the American Revolution are joining hands with each other for a new struggle to enthrone the principle of individual liberty and to cast down the principle of the divine right of one man to keep a people in servitude. The two principles cannot live together. The Declaration of Independence which marks this day sets up the principle of freedom in these words:

> That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That is the principle of democracy. That is opposed to the existence of a divine right to govern others. Governments are instituted to secure the unalienable rights of all men and of every man. The other principle — the principle of autocracy is diametrically and eternally opposed to the principle of democracy. The two principles cannot live together. The conflict between them is inevitable and eternal. One or the other must conquer. We must be either all free or all slaves; and it is in defense of that great and necessary principle of human liberty that the people of the United States abandon

their security, with no enemy at their doors, with no one inflicting injury upon their smiling fields nor on their rich towns. It is in support of that principle necessary to human liberty that the people of the United States come to fight, to shed their blood and their treasure in the war which they hate as a peace-loving people, in order that our children may all live in peace and in justice and that the hateful principle of evil that has come down from a dark and cruel past may no longer oppress the earth, but may pass away and the new order of things may come. No one can tell what the issue of today or tomorrow may be! No one can tell what sacrifice and suffering stand between, but the ultimate supremacy of the principle of human freedom is as certain as the sunrise tomorrow. It cannot be turned back. It may be retarded here or there for the moment, but with the great movement of the human race, the conception of a sovereign power as necessary to the maintenance of order, is passing away, and the conception of great free peoples governing and maintaining order by the laws that they impose upon themselves is taking its place; and the majestic progress of an enlightened world will go on and on to the necessary result of a triumphant democracy the world over.

God grant, my friends and all of our allies, that the day may come quickly and that the suffering and death — the agony — may soon end; but however long it may be, we must not permit human freedom to end — it is better to die than to be slaves.

ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON OF THE AMERICAN CLUB, PETROGRAD, JULY 6, 1917

I NEED not tell you, who have been so long away from your home, in a far distant land, how it warms the hearts of the members of this Diplomatic Mission to find themselves once more in the atmosphere of America and Americanism, and to hear the familiar intonations and sounds of that best of English which you have been speaking.

I think all of us received many messages from many friends to many of you, delivered almost daily in conversation, "give my kind regards to so and so"; "remember me to so and so"; "I hope you will meet so and so; he is a good fellow; a good American; knows what he is about"; or "he can tell you much about Russia"; too many to be delivered individually, but we combine all of these messages of friendship and old acquaintance in one message from America to you Americans, and the message is: that America is awake; awake to her old traditions; to her old ideals; there has come back to your country the spirit of the earlier days, and you need have no fear that you in this distant land will have to blush for your country.

You know what has been done; you know of the enrollment of ten million of the young men of America for military service; you know that forty thousand and more are being trained now in fourteen different camps throughout the country by the few officers of our regular army, to serve as officers in the greater American army of the near future; that five hundred thousand of the men enrolled are to be called up within a few weeks to be trained by these officers, who are now receiving their training, and that then the pro-

cess is to be repeated; more officers are then to be trained and when they are ready another five hundred thousand men are to be called up; that that process is to be repeated as often as it is necessary; you know that our ships are already in European waters acting in concert with the navies of our allies and protecting the ships of commerce upon the seas against the submarine attacks; you know that already engineer regiments are in France aiding in the preparation of the ways of communication, the railroads for the carrying of supplies from the bases to the front of the French and English lines; you know that General Pershing is already there making the arrangements for the bases and the lines of communication for the service of the advanced division which is to take its place under the Stars and Stripes in that line of terrific conflict; and you know that already the efficient men in every branch of commerce, of industry, of transportation, of manufacture, of production of all kinds, have been called to Washington and are directing in concert with the Government, the mobilization and massing of the entire industrial capacity of our country behind the army which is in course of formation. Never before has there been such unity of the brain, the feeling, and the determination of the American people as is exhibited now in our own country. You are far away from the scene of that great action. It is impossible for you to play a part in that; but you can yet serve your country, serve it most effectively and most beneficially.

Let me tell you that this Diplomatic Mission is returning full of admiration for what it has found in the character and the conduct of the Russian people. Many things go wrong; many things are done, which upon the surface appear to justify criticism; but I beg you to remember how many things in our own Government go wrong and appear to justify criticism. That is one of the essential, the necessary characteristics of a democracy in which individual freedom

is preserved, and is not sacrificed to that intense discipline which destroys self-government. I think it is wonderful that the Russian people have preserved the peace and order that reigns here in Russia. We hear of a disturbance in this place, in that place, in another place, but this is a vast empire which covers a sixth of the habitable globe, with a hundred and eighty million people, and when you withdraw your attention from some specific act of disorder, and consider how small a part incidents of that description play in the great life of a people, you must realize that as a whole, the self-control and consideration for right, for justice, for the rights of others, displayed in Russia during these past few months constitutes one of the wonders of the world. Searching for the reason, inquiring why it is that this city of Petrograd is so peaceful and orderly that a woman at any time of the day or night may pass through the streets with safety and without fear of molestation; why it is that all over this land order is preserved without the compulsion of law or the force of the policeman, under circumstances which we know very well would have developed widespread disorder and violence in our own country, I find it in certain essential and inherent qualities of Russian character:—the quality of kindly consideration for others; the capacity for united action, for systematic coöperation, for the attainment of specific ends; the capacity for organization in local self-government; and in the capacity for the organization of the agencies of local self-government into greater organizations with a national scope and purpose. These qualities furnish the test for the capacity of a people to govern itself. That is the question; not little surface matters; not little peanut politics (I do not know that Mr. Rodzianko will know what I mean by peanut politics, but you Americans know what peanut politics are). The question of whether a nation is to maintain its freedom depends upon the character of the

people, and if you want to know whether a people has hope for the future in self-government find out its character. There is no more fatal gift than the gift of freedom to a nation that is not ready for it, and there is nothing more certain than that a nation which is ready for freedom will maintain its freedom when it gets it.

Now I have said you can serve your country here. You can serve it by being true to the spirit of the American democracy here. How did we win and how have we maintained our liberty with peace and order ? Not by our prosperity; not by amassing wealth; not by building palaces; not by our two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railroad; we have maintained it by having stout hearts; by having faith in democracy; in the competency and power of the American democracy to meet the demands upon it and to solve its problems and to win its fights. It was so that our republic was built. Our fathers suffered, and endured, and sacrificed, and in the darkest days their hearts never failed. We have seen darker times than Russia sees now. We have seen times when the American dollar was worth less in proportion to gold than the Russian rouble is worth now; we have seen times when American finance seemed more desperate than Russian finance is today; we have seen the time when dissension, disorder, and controversy among our people seemed to be more bitter than any dissension or controversy among the Russian people seem to be now. You can serve your country by representing in every office and every home in Petrograd and in Russia to which an American comes, that spirit of American democracy here in Russia. Make it plain to all; carry the light of triumphant, and courageous and unflinching democracy, and faith in the capacity of a free people to maintain their freedom in every part. This great war has reached a point where the question of victory or defeat is not so much a question of military preparation;

is not so much a question of numbers of men, or of guns, as it is a question of who have the stoutest hearts; who will faint first; who will give up first; who will lose faith first.

You can help our friends and allies in Russia by being — you one hundred Americans here — each one, the center of influence more potent than high explosives; of influence making for courage, and hope, and intrepidity, and undying persistency in the maintenance of freedom against the German autocracy. You can help to put courage into all Russia; help to cheer the despondent; help to maintain this government which is now carrying Russia through the doubtful and difficult period before the Constituent Assembly shall have established a permanent government and the people begin to make laws for themselves. This is the mission of all of you; more important than that of this Diplomatic Mission which has come from America. You are all of you envoys of your country, and you can help to maintain this great alliance and support the armies of your own country when they get into the field, by the power of your faith, which can move mountains, exhibited in your own proper persons, in your intercourse with your associates and your friends in Russia. More than that, by your faith and its manifestations, by your appreciation of the qualities that make for self-government in Russia, by your faith in the Russian democracy, you can illustrate and bring honor to your people and to the spirit of the American democracy. You can make it known throughout this great country that in America, Americans believe in the competency of the people to rule; believe in the competency of the Russian people to rule themselves and to maintain their freedom. You can have it understood in Russia that the motive which most moves America is not the success of your own business, is not the making of money, the promotion of commerce, but that it is loyalty, not only throughout America, but in Russia, and the whole world, to

the high ideals of our fathers, the high ideals of the American Republic, for the lifting up of the great mass of toiling and enduring men throughout the world to freedom and opportunity and peace and justice. Then, indeed, America will be honored and beloved here and everywhere in the civilized world.

ADDRESS AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF LIQUIDATION OF THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND PETROGRAD, JULY 7, 1917

IN behalf of all of my associates on the Diplomatic Mission which is now about concluding its visit to Russia, I thank you, both for the kindly greeting with which you have received us, for your courtesy and friendship, and for the appropriate and appreciative words in which you have described the character of our country and the character of that President who is now in the forefront of the great battle for human liberty.

There are many reasons why representatives of the free people of the United States should be most appreciative of this greeting from the men of Poland. It is not merely that as children we were taught to revere and honor the names of Kosciusko and Pulaski who, with others, many others, of the same blood, aided us one hundred and forty years ago in the hard struggle of the impoverished colonies of America to achieve their liberty; it is not alone that hundreds of thousands of Poles have sought opportunity and liberty in our free country, and by their industry, their probity, their good citizenship, and their high character, have elevated our conception of the character and genius of Poland. It is also because as lovers of liberty, Poles have worked with the forces of civilization to advance all that is noblest and best in humanity, that we look back with reverence and with joy to the great examples that Poland has given to the world. It is what you have done for us, — because your citizens are with us, and because of what you have done for humanity, that we are proud to be honored by you now.

You know that the people of the United States have lately taken the hard decision to enter the great world war. It was difficult for us to do it, because we are a peaceful people. No one had invaded our country; no one appeared to be taking away our liberty; but we came, step by step, as we watched the process of this great struggle, to realize that it was not merely the interests of the Allies in Europe that were at stake, but that the liberty of mankind was at stake, — your liberty and ours equally, and so, still preserving in the midst of our wealth, prosperity and ease, those great ideals that made America free, we determined that it was our duty to be ready to sacrifice treasure and life, in order that the world might live free from oppression.

We are with you to fight for our freedom; happy to fight also for the freedom of that great nation which has given to us so much of genius; which has given to the world philosophers and sages, poets and musicians; which has been the admiration of mankind, but has for so long mourned for its own home and been an outcast from its roof-tree and its ancient abiding place. We are happy that we can fight with you, while you seek to secure again your birthright, and to take again your place among the nations of the world which you so well deserve.

The policy of the Government of the United States has been not to permit any divisions in its military forces. It was determined that we would not allow even the division which would necessarily accompany military organizations upon national or racial lines, to interfere with the efficiency of our forces. We are raising a great army of Americans which will include Poles and Scandinavians and Irish and French and Italians and English, and the people of every blood on the face of the earth, all in one firmly knitted and united army, that its efficiency may be the greatest possible. But for that I am sure you would find great Polish legions organizing in

America. But I am sure that the world will see many thousands of Poles coming from the citizenship of the United States, fighting under our Stars and Stripes, happy to meet danger and glad to die, if need be, for the liberty of their adopted country, and for the liberty of their fatherland.

Union and strength, — all united without division or distinction, — is the watchword under which we may best accomplish the great result we all seek. Our way is clear. No doubt need beset us or make our steps to falter. We know, all of us know, that liberty is impossible, either for us or others, in the neighborhood of the military autocracy of Germany. We know, all of us know, that no Poland can arise again from the ashes of the past if that military autocracy is dominant in Europe; and our pathway is clear. Germany must be defeated, and Poles and Americans alike will do their duty to accomplish this great defeat. Ah! happy men, happy men whose lot has fallen in this great era! Happy men who, after all these long years, after these many generations of helplessness and despair, at last, at last, find it in your lives to make your sacrifices for the liberty of Poland. Ah! God is good to you, God is good to you that you live now, not in the dark and hopeless days of the past and not in the future, where our children will only have to look back to the great deeds which will set the name and the fame and military genius of Poland again on the pedestal, as high as that on which Poland stood when it rescued Christendom from the hordes of the Moslem invader. My congratulations to you all. America congratulates you all, and America will be proud upon that great day when a renewed Poland shall take its place among the free self-governments of the world by the side of free democratic America.

ADDRESS BEFORE A LARGE BODY OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS AT PERM, JULY 13, 1917

MY companions and I are a Mission from the democratic republic of America to the Russian people. We came across the sea to Russia to say to the Russian people that Americans are their friends, and have gone into this great war to fight with Russians for the liberty of Russia and of America against the overbearing and oppressive military autocracy of Germany. When we came we were alarmed by the confusion which had followed your glorious revolution. You had gained your freedom; you had cast off the discipline of the superior powers of the bureaucratic government that oppressed you; you had not yet gained that new discipline, that new capacity to work together for a common object, which comes with the training and experience of free self-government. There was confusion; there was lack of that discipline which is necessary to enable an army to fight successfully and to win victories over its enemy. But, God be praised, you are now acquiring that discipline and capacity to work together for victory over your enemy. God sent a great man to be your leader in Kerensky, and under his leadership, under his appeals to the soldiers at the front, discipline has been restored. And under that great general, whose fame will live forever, Brusiloff, under the lead of Brusiloff at the front, the soldiers of Russia on the 18th of June marched again against the German foe; and on the 18th of June the Russian army advanced with perfect discipline, with perfect enthusiasm, with perfect courage, and won another victory, as glorious as any ever won by Russian arms, because it was a victory over

the forces that were tending to destroy Russian discipline, and a victory over the enemy as well. That discipline, that spirit, that capacity to fight together against the enemy, has appeared throughout the entire front from Riga to the Caucasus and Persia. When you reach the front you will come to an army that is inspired by love for Russia; an army steadied by renewed confidence in its superior officers who are leading it to victory, and an army that is inspired by the determination to maintain the liberty you have won by your great revolution. Let me tell you that your liberty cannot be preserved unless you are willing to make sacrifices for it, to fight for it, to risk your lives for it. I tell you this because I come from a people who won their liberty one hundred and forty years ago and have been struggling to maintain it ever since. Your liberty which you have today will be taken from you unless you have the strength and the courage to maintain it. No one in this world, no nation, ever kept its liberty unless it had the strength and the courage and will to defend it. You are going to the front to fight with brave comrades, under great generals, for the greatest cause on earth; the liberty, the equality and the independent manhood of the one hundred and eighty million people of free Russia. As you fight, willing to die if need be, you are helping to hand down to your children and your children's children, the liberty that you have won and that you are preserving. As you go to the front, as you go into battle, we pray that God's blessings may go with you and keep you safe, and enable you to do the full service of free men for your free country.

ADDRESS BEFORE A GATHERING OF SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS AT NAZUVAESKAYA, JULY 14, 1917

UPON this train are the members of a Mission sent across the sea from America, half-way around the world, to bring a message of friendship and loyal comradeship to the democracy of Russia. In that distant land young men are gathering, as you are gathered, to fight for liberty, for American liberty and Russian liberty, against the common foe, the military autocracy of Germany; and they will fight, as you will fight to the end, until victory crowns the flag of freedom in the battle against oppression and autocracy. More than one hundred years ago on this great day the people of France, the plain people of France, began their wonderful fight for their liberty which they still maintain under the same flag under which they fought for it, to the sound of the same air that you have been playing here today, the Marseillaise. With their sufferings and sacrifices, with their blood, it was the people of France who taught you and taught us that those who deserve liberty must be willing to fight for it. You and we will still fight, side by side, with the men of France, for their liberty and ours, and you and we will continue the struggle until we know that our children will inherit our lands in freedom, subject to no autocrat, subject to no oppressive class; free men, each one his own master, the master of his own fate; until a great, free, and happy people shall govern themselves under the law of justice and of liberty. Our blessings go with you, young men of Russia, as you go to fight your country's battles, and the world's battles, for the noblest

cause that ever lifted up the head of man, and inspired him with deeds of valor and made him indifferent to death. To you we pledge the coöperation, the aid, the comradeship of the men, the young men, of free democratic America until the glorious day of victory.

ADDRESS AT A RECEPTION BY THE CITY OF SEATTLE, AUGUST 4, 1917

THIS Diplomatic Mission which is now returning from its long and fatiguing journey to our new sister republic on the other side of the world is deeply grateful for this generous welcome back to our country.

It is our country, though each one of us is far from his own fireside. It is our country because on the Atlantic and the Pacific, in the Alleghenies and the Sierras, on the Mississippi and the Hudson and the Columbia, there prevail the same standard of independent manhood, the same love of justice, the same indomitable determination to be free, and the loyalty to the same ideals that have made America the greatest union for liberty and justice the world has ever seen. This is our country and it is our home and you, men and women of Seattle, are our brothers and our sisters in the great brotherhood of civilization, of humanity, of Christianity.

This is a diplomatic mission and it is not suitable that in advance of reporting to the Department of State, from which we have come, we should talk to you or to anybody about the special circumstances or conclusions of our Mission. But I cannot refrain from saying that we bring back from Russia a deep sympathy for the efforts of that young democracy which is struggling now month by month with the hard problems that we have taken one hundred and forty years to solve and have not yet solved. We bring back not only a deep sympathy, but a sincere admiration for the qualities of Russian character. We have found the Russians kindly, considerate of the rights and feelings of others, with a

high capacity for self-control, with an extraordinary ability for united action and with a noble idealism that leads always in the better way towards higher things; and we have an abiding faith that Russia, through trials and tribulations, indeed, which she cannot escape, will work out, create and make perpetual a great free, self-governing, democratic government.

In Russia, almost within the sound of the guns, I think we got a little nearer to the truth that lies in the great war upon which our country has just entered. I think we bring back a deeper realization of some things which it has been hard for the people of the United States to appreciate. We see now why it is that all the world is at war. We see that for centuries we have been building up a structure of civilization. We have fondly believed that the world was growing better, more humane, more just, more devoted to justice, more willing to permit our fellow-men to enjoy freedom. We have believed that the old dark days of cruelty and tyranny were passed away; and the nations of the earth year by year have entered into solemn covenants to observe more nearly those divine precepts under which we all profess to live. For that cause of the upward progress of humanity along the pathway of civilization to a true Christian life, our fathers fought and suffered. In that cause our American republic was born and struggled and agonized, and all that is best and truest in American nature was evolved in the course of its aid and in efforts towards advancing that cause of humanity and civilization.

We see now more clearly than ever before that a great military power, a great military autocracy, proceeding upon the principle, animated by the spirit, avowing the purpose of the dark and cruel past, has thrown down the gauntlet to the civilization and the liberty of our day. We see that Germany repudiates the rule of morality upon nations; that the con-

trol of law, the law of nations to which she has solemnly agreed, is cast aside the moment her interest conflicts with it; that the faith of treaties, the solemn, binding faith of treaties, that faith without which human society cannot endure except as a society of slaves subject to despotism, the faith of treaties is repudiated and held as naught. We see that all those rules which a kindly civilization has agreed upon in the past to ameliorate the horrors of war are cast aside with cynical indifference. We see that for the sake of ambition, of lust for military glory, laws are violated, treaties held as naught, peaceful nations are overrun, the rule of morality is repudiated, the laws of humanity are forgotten; burned homes and devastated lands, outraged women and murdered children, mark the pathway by which this reincarnation of cruelty and barbarism is marching to the domination of the world. We see now that the principles of good and evil, the principles of liberty and slavery, the principles of humanity and cruelty have locked horns in a conflict which cannot be downed. We see that the ideals of our fathers in this republic must go down to earth before the triumphant march of this German Moloch, or the men who are loyal to those ideals must muster their manhood in their support.

It is not a matter of sentiment, of something far away. As sure as the sun shall rise tomorrow, if this war ends with the triumph of Germany, this country will become a subject nation, for the principles and the temper of the German people — of the German ruling class I should say — ever reaching out for more power will turn, aye, it has turned its eyes toward the fertile fields, the vast wealth and the great unpeopled spaces of this rich and defenseless hemisphere. Leave your wealth on the sidewalk and trust that the passing thief will refrain from taking it; send your richly laden ships to sea and trust that the pirate will let them pass without interference, rather than let America remain rich beyond the

dreams of avarice and unwilling or incompetent to defend herself. Ah! We are none too soon in beginning our preparation for the preservation of our liberty. There will be sacrifices. Ah, yes! They will be bitter. There will be wounds and death. Some of us will die. There will be orphaned children and widowed homes. There will be straitened means, sacrifices of comfort. There will be discouragement and doubt and almost despair, but in the end there will be a great free country re-made in the spirit of our fathers and competent to perform its divine mission of carrying liberty and justice throughout the earth.

I have been thinking as I drove about the streets of your splendid city this morning, of that great migration which saved this noble and smiling land to our American republic. I have been thinking of that worn and travel-stained and wearied procession that came across the long trail in the forties and saved the Oregon country for the United States by taking possession of it in the name of the American republic.

This noble city, these splendid palaces, your comfort and your luxury, all rest upon the endurance, the hardships, the sacrifices and suffering of those early pioneers. It is not the possession that counts; it is the building. It is not your luxury and your comforts, it is not your palaces and your wonderful railroads, that toughen the sinews and energize the brain cells and broaden the view and give indomitable courage to manhood, that make a state like this. It is the hard work, the early sacrifices, the sufferings — and the liberty that is founded upon hardship, upon sacrifices and upon sufferings. It is not only eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty; it is eternal struggle which is the price of liberty. The test, the first and great test, is not between German troops and American troops, or German troops and French and Russian troops. It is between the great and

noble qualities of American nature and the degrading tendencies that come with luxury and wealth and prosperity and tend to drag men down from effort and from sacrifice.

We are in this war and we have got to stay in it, and we have got to go on with it, and we have got to make our sacrifices, because we are fighting for our own liberty. We are fighting for the deliverance of this dear country of ours whose freedom and justice have given us all our opportunities and which we would hand down undivided and unimpaired to our children's children.

Do not argue about the cause of the war. Do not argue about why we are in the war or whether we should be in the war. Do not argue the whys and wherefores, but realize this, that the time has now come when America's liberty, America's justice, the independence and freedom of every one of us, is a stake for which we must fight. If we are not all hypocrites, if all our profession of love for country, if all our devotion to the ideals of the fathers be not rank hypocrisy, now when the great test has come we will gird our loins and go into the battle with whole and fearless hearts and fight for America as no people ever fought before.

ADDRESS AT A RECEPTION BY THE CITY OF NEW YORK, CITY HALL, AUGUST 15, 1917

A great popular reception at the City Hall was tendered to the Russian Mission by Mayor Mitchel upon its arrival in New York City, August 15, 1917. The welcoming address was made by the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, chairman of the Mayor's committee, who said among other things:

> It will ever be remembered that America was first among the nations to extend its official recognition to the new Russia, and to welcome her to the family of democratic nations. The President deemed it of the first importance to interpret the spirit of our great democracy, with its trials, struggles, and triumphs, to our youngest co-partner and ally, and he selected from among all our citizens the foremost of our constructive statesmen, and placed him at the head of this important and extraordinary Mission.

Then the Mayor presented to Mr. Root the first medal of valor of the National Arts Club, awarded to Mr. Root for his acceptance of what the Mayor called "the very real hazards of this Mission." He then introduced Mr. Root, who spoke as follows:

THIS medal is the first object of desire, the first fruit of this Mission, which has not been shared with perfect equality among all the nine members of the mission. I hope that it will not prove a golden apple of discord among us. I must attribute the selection of myself as its recipient to that friendship that is so grateful to the heart among the people of my own home. I beg you, sir, to convey to the National Arts Club an expression of my sincere and grateful appreciation for the undeserved honor which they have done me.

The duty which was imposed upon the special Diplomatic Mission to Russia was one of very great importance and significance, but its performance required no extraordinary qualities and involved no extraordinary merit. The way was plain and we had, each one of us, merely to do our bit as best we could in the discharge of a simple and imperative duty. We did the best we knew how. We did it with the most

perfect harmony and with whatever strength comes from united action. Drawn from all parts of the country, selected with an evident purpose to represent different points of view of the American people — a soldier, a sailor, a manufacturer, a retired capitalist, a banker, a labor leader, a socialist, a religious worker, a New York lawyer — we all were absolutely united in our conception of the spirit of our mission and in the union of effort to perform our duty. Yet it is inexpressibly grateful to us, sir, that in this great city to which we now return, we are thought to have done useful service, and that the belief in the usefulness of our service is sufficiently strong to move you and the distinguished citizens of New York who are about this circle to this outward manifestation of approval.

It is not the first time that the importance of the cause has been transferred to the individuals who have represented the cause. It was a great cause, it was a great errand. There never was in history a people finding itself in a more difficult and perilous position than the people of Russia found themselves in a few months ago. When the Czar was removed and his government was driven out, there was left a great people of one hundred and eighty million, covering a vast territory, without a government. They had never been taught to govern themselves. They had no institutions of national self-government; and no people, no democracy can govern itself except through institutions of government. The hundred and eighty million people of Russia were left without a government by the dethronement of the Czar, and they were left without any institutions of self-government. They had, moreover, in general, no knowledge, no intimate and personal knowledge of the methods and the necessities of self-government. The great body of the people were wholly ignorant of how to carry on a national government for themselves. They had been accustomed to receive orders and to obey.

They had no habits of thought which would enable them, the great body of them, to evolve institutions through which to govern. And so this vast people who had never been permitted to speak or write or think upon self-government were left confused, bewildered, gathering in little groups in aimless and endless discussion.

Then came the propaganda of the extreme socialists and anarchists, of the internationals, the analogue in Russia to the I. W. W. of this country; the men whose motto is that the worst is the best; the men who seek to destroy the industrial organization of the world, to destroy the nationalism of the world with a far-off dream in its place of a universal brotherhood to govern all the world in harmony and peace. These men were aided by thousands who had swarmed back to Russia from America, thousands who returned vilifying and abusing the land that gave them refuge, gave them security, gave them liberty to think and speak and act. These refugees returned to Russia declaring America to be as tyrannous as the Czar, and calling for the destruction, not for the setting-up, of competent government in Russia, and for the destruction of all governments, of America, of England, of France, of Italy, and incidentally of Germany. They poisoned the minds of the working-men, and of peasants and of soldiers. Their definite and distinct object was to destroy the whole industrial and national system of Russia. And they had power in Petrograd, for there at the beginning the garrison adhered to them.

Into this condition of vast confusion and bewilderment was thrust a great German propaganda. Thousands of German agents swarmed over the line immediately upon the coming of the revolution. They awakened all the pro-Germans in Russia. They spent money like water. Millions upon millions were used. They bought people; they bribed people; they bought newspapers; they established news-

papers; they circulated literature; they went to and fro among the troops at the front. They said, "Why go on fighting? This was the Czar's war; it was not your war; why go on? Let us have peace." The people of Russia, the soldiers of Russia, were wearied of war, like all the rest of Europe, and peace seemed so desirable to them that for the moment it seemed as if this German propaganda had captured Russia, had done what her arms never could do, captured Russia. The internationals, the extremists, who were preaching a great world union of human freedom, made common cause with the bribing and insidious agents of the German autocracy to overcome the freedom of Russia. Against these influences, in an attempt to build up a new republic, with the enemy at their gates, and the insidious influences sapping all their power, a few men in Russia made the bravest, noblest, most gallant fight of our time for the safety of human freedom and the building up of free self-government in their country.

It was the function of this Mission not merely to carry a message of friendship and good feeling from the United States to Russia. As events developed before we reached Russia, it became the function of this group of American citizens to carry to the people of Russia a message of faith in democracy; to say to them, "Take heart, be of good cheer, faint not, despair not. We say to you from the hundred million free people of America, who for one hundred and forty years have been fighting the battles of democracy, that there lives a power in democracy that will overcome all evil, and it is with you, and with it you will triumph." It was the function of this Mission to put courage and hope into many a faint heart, to point out that the way to safety led through the support, the earnest and active support of the existing provisional government of Russia; that no oratory, that no aimless theorizing could answer the purpose, but that

there must be government, and that the government they had must be supported, sustained, promoted, strengthened, if they would be free. Little by little that government, beginning with no power, a government merely of moral suasion, with no force to execute a decree, gathering to itself the forces of Russian thought and character, acquired the power, gradually secured confidence, secured the support of the garrison in Petrograd, began to restore discipline, to restore a consciousness that freedom was not that every man should do what he pleased, but that freedom was order, freedom was the reciprocal limitation of individual liberty. That government, gathering slowly the forces of Russia, at last came to the point where it was able to lift up its hand and say, " The time has come when those who fight against us must take up the sword, for they will perish by the sword." Since our departure from Petrograd, processes that began before have been going on along the lines that were explained to us before we left that country, and the results that the government then had in mind have been worked out and are manifest today, with Kerensky, that man of conviction, of intense purpose, of tremendous personality, devoted to his great cause to the last drop of his blood. Kerensky, who, when we were there, was agreed upon by the members of the government for his present position, now rules the destinies of Russia; and with him in the government are wise, prudent, sagacious men of affairs.

I know of no greater exhibition of competency in constructive government than has been given to the world by the provisional government of Russia during the past three months. So we have come back with faith in Russia, faith in the qualities of character that are the essential tests of competency for self-government, faith in the purpose, the persistency and the power of the Russian people to keep themselves free. And they know that they cannot be free,

that they cannot build up a structure of government based upon and conforming to the life and character and genius of the Russian people, if Germany is allowed to dominate in their land. They know it well. I do not know what the result of military operations will be; no man can forecast that; but I do know that Russia has found herself; she has found herself, and on every field, military and civil, she will give a good account of herself to the democratic world; and we need not blush for having extended our hand to her in friendship and brotherhood.

I have said that it was the function of this Diplomatic Mission to take to the Russian people a message of faith in democracy. My friends, we return to America to repeat that message. Here, as there, a German propaganda is seeking to sap the strength of this free democracy. Here, as there, German money is percolating throughout the country, buying men here and buying men there, inspiring the press here and the press there, building up a great concealed structure of real treason. Here, as there, there are weak sentimentalists who, speaking for peace and justice and harmony among men, lend themselves to the support and advancement of the most terrible enemy that peace and justice and harmony and humanity have had since Genghis Khan fell. Here, as there, there are men who proclaim their patriotism and sell their country. But here, as there, the time is at hand when the power of a democracy, long-suffering, indecisive at first, will gather to a point; and then when the power of the American democracy exerts itself against its real enemy within, let these men beware. No form of law, no fiction of theory will prevent the usages of war being applied to them. For a hundred and forty years, as we told the Russians, we have been fighting the hard battles of democracy. Democracy has not that power of instant action which characterizes a military autocracy. Democracy cannot command that

united action, that union of purpose and concert of forward motion which an autocracy can command; but democracy has its reserves of power that no autocracy can have, and those reserves are here. They are all about us. They are unexhausted. They are ready to be moved on, and they will be moved.

We bring back from Russia to you and to all our friends at home an echo of our message: have faith, be stout of heart, be courageous and hopeful; brush aside all trifling criticisms and doubts; believe in your own power; do not doubt the triumph of the democracy of America, or the triumph of that great world movement of democracy — that great movement of the human mind which is passing on over the continents to the exile of autocrats and the universal triumph of government by the people, lifting up all those who labor and endure to their inheritance of opportunity, of justice, and of liberty. Do not doubt its triumph for a moment. God in the heavens has manifested His eternal purpose, so that the simplest may read, that autocracy's days are doomed, and the triumph, the universal triumph of democracy approaches; and America, great democratic America, courageous and powerful, is still to do its mighty work in that regeneration of mankind.

GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED STATES

ADDRESS BEFORE THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, NEW YORK AUGUST 15, 1917

Following Mayor Mitchel's reception to the Russian Mission at the New York City Hall on August 15, 1917, and the luncheon of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York on the same day, the Mission was tendered a reception by the Union League Club in the evening. The members of the Mission were presented to the members of the club by the president, the Honorable Charles E. Hughes, who then introduced the head of the Mission in the following words:

This is an occasion of unique interest. Our fellow-member, whom we have long honored and loved, returns to us from a service of vast importance, most admirably and nobly performed. He has received the official welcome of the city; he has been greeted by the most important commercial body of this metropolis; but we desire to add to these greetings, in which we are glad to have had a share, the more intimate welcome that comes from his old-time friends in this Union League Club.

When it was announced that the President had selected Mr. Root to go as the head of this important mission to Russia, we were all extremely glad that the best thought of the nation was to find expression through this eminent statesman. I am sure, however, that the friends of Mr. Root had some little misgiving, because at that time we were filled with uncertainty and apprehension. The age which his appearance belies was about to be put to a severe test. He might well have sought exemption from such an arduous task; but whatever was in the minds of his friends was not in his mind. To him there was but one thought, and that was, that any service within his power to render to the nation he would render, here or anywhere. That, gentlemen, according to place and opportunity and talent, is the very essence of patriotism, and the nation has no abler statesman and no finer patriot than Elihu Root.

Now he has returned. Our misgivings, as is usual with most of our misgivings, were without warrant. He has performed the most difficult task that could be set to him to perform, that of adding luster to a name already so renowned. He returns to us from this service, the importance of which we all appreciate, with a message. We are glad to greet him as a friend, but we are even more keen to hear what he has to say with respect to conditions on the other side. The greatest event of this period of extraordinary events is the emergence of the people of Russia into the responsibilities and privileges and enormous difficulties of freedom. God forbid that any one in the United States should look askance at Russia. Russia, our great sister nation, carries now in no small degree the hopes of humanity, and every one whose heart is full of the intense desire that man shall move forward to happier and better days, that

freedom shall be world-wide and that there shall be in the future such an organization in the world as will prevent the recurrence of war, looks today to Russia, full of sympathy, full of pride in what has already been accomplished under the most extreme difficulties, full of intense personal interest, with that feeling of brotherhood which must possess us if we are not only to fight for democracy, but to be worthy of democracy when won.

Now we are here to listen to a message from one who has been most successful in interpreting the thought of America to the people of Russia in this crisis. He and those who were associated with him in this mission have, it seems to me, been very successful in conveying our thought to them, and it is important that they should now from this vantage-ground of personal observation, interpret Russia as they have seen Russia, as they have learned to know Russia, to us. We are living in a world where the future depends on our mutual understanding — not on formal programs, not on the formal engagements of nations, but upon an understanding of aims which we hold in common for human betterment.

It is a peculiar privilege to listen to our distinguished fellow-member on his return from this great errand on behalf of the United States. It is my great pleasure to introduce Mr. Elihu Root.

I WISH to explain to my associates of the Special Diplomatic Mission that some of the nice things which our president has said tonight are a matter of habit. He says them to me because this is my home. The gray-headed old men you see about you and I have lived together in this club, have cultivated and stimulated each other's patriotism here in the atmosphere created by the founders of the club, for the last forty years, and the younger members have come into the fellowship of the club and have inherited the tradition; and they say these nice things because I am theirs and they are mine, and we love each other, and we have confidence each in the other's love of country, and sincerity of purpose, and willingness to sacrifice and to labor for the common good of our beloved country.

I am to say something about Russia, and I wish also to say something about America. I thought often while in Russia, as I watched the labors and judged the mental state and feelings of the men who were engaged in the hard task of building up the government in Russia, of those men of the days of '63 who gathered in the old club house in Union

Square to render the same service to the American democracy then struggling against the impending danger of death to the Republic.

I wish to say to you that I never have seen a more gallant fight with purer motives and nobler purpose than the few men who are controlling the government of Russia today have been making against overwhelming odds for the freedom of their people and the safety of democracy in Russia and in the world.

Everything was against them; the soldiers and the people, the peasants who make up eighty-five per cent of Russia, had lost a leader. They had not been in the habit of thinking upon political questions, they had been in the habit of obeying, and the word which they had obeyed was gone. The soldiers had lost the command to follow, they had lost their national head, they had lost their national flag. The laws which received their sanction from the Czar, when the Czar was gone, no longer seemed to have moral obligation. The police had disappeared. The people of Russia were practically without government, for the Provisional Government had no power to execute a decree. Without police, without law, their own orderly habits, their own mutual consideration for the rights of others alone remained to preserve their respect for property and life and human rights. Throughout Russia, with no other safeguard, order reigned as perfect as reigns in the United States today, because the people of Russia have ingrained, inherent characteristics, qualities of character which are necessary for the maintenance of free self-government.

Germany, making common cause with those extremists who would break down and destroy all industrial organization, all national authority, Germany carried on in the early months of the revolution a great propaganda in a score of ways to pervert the minds of the Russian people. Her

agents swarmed over the border, they spent money by the million in buying adherents to the German cause; they purchased newspapers and established newspapers; they distributed literature; their troops, under order, swarmed out of the trenches with open arms to fraternize with the Russian troops. They said to them, " Why do you fight us ? This was the Czar's war, it was not your war. Why do you want to kill us who are your friends ? Why do you want to get killed ? Why not go home and share in the division of the land ? If you do not hurry you will get left, it will all be in other hands. Why go on with the Czar's war, which was not your war ? " And they produced an effect on the army of Russia that made them generally, along all the thousand-mile line, unwilling to fight. The Russians were tired of the war, as all the peoples of Europe are tired of the war. And when we reached Russia it seemed as if the game was over. Sagacious observers there said, " According to all the rules of the game, Russia is out of the war."

A few men, thoughtful men, realized that the erection of a system of free self-government according to the life, the customs, the spirit of Russian life, could never be developed under the suzerainty of Germany. They realized that subjection to Germany meant the death of Russian liberty; and they set out to re-inspire in the Russian people a knowledge, a realization, a spirit of defense for their newly-won freedom; and under the splendid leadership of Kerensky, under the wise and sagacious control of Nekrasoff and Terestchenko and Tseratelli and a score of others, they gradually brought discipline back. Out of confusion and bewilderment they have brought a knowledge and a realization of duty, and Russia has found herself, and has begun again to fight for the preservation of her own freedom.

Germany has appealed in Russia, as she has appealed in America and all over the world, to all the baser motives of

mankind. She has appealed to cupidity, she has bought men in and out of office, right and left, by scores. She has expended millions of money in Russia, as she has here, to buy treason for her own benefit. She has appealed to passion and prejudice, to local interest that quarrels with the public good, to personal selfishness and ambitions. Wherever in Russia, wherever in this world a baser motive was to be found, Germany has developed a feeling for it as swift and irresistible as any chemical combinations that we know of. Every base, every despicable, every damnable influence that tends to break down law and order and to frustrate noble purposes and great designs for good, she has employed. She has done it in Russia, as she has done it here, with diabolical ingenuity. But in one thing Germany has failed; she has been incapable of measuring, of understanding, the great moral forces that move mankind, the great moral force leading modern civilization to higher and better things.

Germany could not understand that love of country and the passionate desire for Italia Irredenta would take Italy out of the Triple Alliance and range her against the German armies.

She could not understand that England, which, set in the enjoyment of peace and wealth, had turned a deaf ear to the warning of good old Lord Roberts, that England would revolt at the shameful bargain that was proposed to Sir Edward Grey, to connive, to wink at the violations of treaties that protected Belgium and stand idly by while poor Belgium was overrun with indescribable cruelty and savagery. She could not understand that down from Puritan ancestry and the nobility of the Cavaliers of many generations, there came a spirit of moral power in England that would array her against the damnable wrong that Germany did to Belgium.

Germany could not understand that the British colonies had replaced the rule of force that once bound them to

England by a bond of sentiment a thousand times stronger than all the red-coats that ever garrisoned the citadel of Quebec.

Germany could not understand that the longings for freedom and self-government of South Africa could transmute the fairness and justice of the final settlement of the relation between England and the Boers into a feeling of loyalty to England upon the part of the Boers.

Germany could not understand that there was a line beyond which the free, rich, comfortable people of the United States of America, rejoicing in their prosperity and their comfort, would not pass — a line at which the ideals of their fathers and an ingrained sense of devotion to the liberty of mankind forbade the sordid considerations of prosperity and wealth longer to govern the free American people.

Then, again, buying treason in Russia, playing upon sordid motives and every degraded impulse to be found in Russia, Germany again has failed to understand the moral power of that great empire, and that great justice and liberty-loving people. Time was but a few months ago when a regiment of Germans could have marched over the border and gone where they would; but they misjudged the moral force of the Russian people, and they waited too long. They waited until the power of regeneration, so strong in the Russian character, had had time to begin its work, and they are moving too late. I do not know what the fortunes of the battlefield may be, but I do think that the Russian people have again found themselves, and again begun one of those extraordinary recoveries which the indomitable spirit of Russia makes possible beyond the experience of any other race.

Now we have sent a mission of congratulation and friendship and coöperation to Russia, and we are committed to

help Russia. There are many things in which she can be helped; in money, for her financial condition is bad; in munitions, for her soldiers must have munitions with which to fight; in transportation, in locomotives and cars, for her rolling stock is almost worn out in these three years of war; in a dozen material ways, as well as in the courage and hope that come from comradeship and faith and confidence that we all need. I hope that all of you will stand by our Government in rendering the fullest measure of help to Russia, which is fighting our battles with her own; poor Russia, desperately weary of the war, still gathering herself for another campaign, while we are entering the war fresh and unharmed. I hope you will all stand by the Government of our country in rendering the full measure of help to Russia, and I hope that you will aid the people of the United States to support the Government in rendering that help by a universal sentiment of desire for comradeship and support on the part of the people of the United States. Material, substantial, practical aid is needed that Russia shall go on with the war. That we must give if we are true to our assurances, and if we are true to our principles.

I want to say a word — not too many words — about the situation in America. I feel that there are still some Americans who do not quite understand why we are fighting, why we are about to fight. If they did, they would stop these pro-German traitors who are selling out our country, who are endeavoring to make us unsuccessful in the war that we have undertaken, who are endeavoring to make our actions inefficient, who are endeavoring by opposition and obstruction, in Congress and out of Congress, to make what America does in preparation for the war so ineffective, partial, and incompetent, that when our young men go to the firing line in France and Flanders they will meet defeat. If our people all understood why it is that we are going into this war, they

would rise up and crush these traitors down to earth. There are men walking about the streets of this city tonight that ought to be taken out at sunrise tomorrow and shot for treason. They are doing their work under false pretense; they are professing to be for the country and they are lying every day and in every word. They are covering themselves with the cloak of pretended Americanism; and if we are competent and fit for our liberty, we will find them out and get at them. And every one of us can help, not by talking to each other about what we hear, but by carrying to the authorities charged with the pursuit and detection of traitors, all the information we can gather.

And understand, and I hope they will understand, it is only a question of time. We are only a democracy, we have not the swift decision and competent action of a military autocracy, but we cannot be fooled or played with too long. There are some newspapers published in this city every day, the editors of which deserve conviction and execution for treason. And sooner or later they will get it. The American people are not going to see their young men led to death through the machinations of these ill-concealed friends of the enemy of our country.

Now, why is it that we are going into this fight ? Specifically, the sinking of our ships and the murder of our citizens by the U-boats, in violation of the well-established and agreed-upon rules of the law of nations. That does not tell the whole story, because that action in violation of the law of nations, in violation of the rules of humanity and in violation of the well-established principles of our civilization, is but an illustration of what it is that Germany proposes to the world. It is but an illustration of what we are all to expect if Germany acquires domination over the world, as Rome dominated the world; and it is to prevent that domination which will be the death of liberty, the downfall of democracy, the

restoration of tyranny, that America is entering this war; and it is to preserve not merely the freedom, the democracy of the world at large, but the freedom and the democracy of our own country, that we are entering the war.

It is an old saying that to govern is to foresee, and the democracy that governs must be able to foresee. You cannot expect all the people who are working upon the farms and in the factories and in the stores and shops to be so familiar with international affairs as to look forward and forecast the future, but you can expect that in a competent, self-governing democracy there shall be many men who are sufficiently familiar with the affairs of the world to form a just forecast of what their country is to expect in the near future, judging from what they see in the present; and that forecast leaves no doubt whatever that if Germany were to win in this war the liberty of America would be worth not a song. If Germany were to win in this war, it would mean the dismemberment of this Union and the subjection of this people!

Do you remember what Bismarck said about the Monroe Doctrine? He said it was a piece of colossal impudence. Do you remember what William, the present William, the great war lord, said at the time of the Venezuelan affair? He said if he had had a larger navy he would have taken the United States by the scruff of the neck. Do you remember what Admiral Dietrich undertook to do in Manila Bay, when Dewey sent word to him, "If you want to have a fight, you can have it now"? Did you observe what Germany was doing in Haiti just before this war was opened? She was seeking a foothold in Haiti — for a naval base in the Caribbean, commanding the Panama Canal, and robbing us forever of our security, and making it necessary that we should keep forever great navies and great armies for our protection against sudden and unexpected attack.

What has Germany been doing all over the world but meddling with the affairs of every country, to extend her own dominion ? Africa, Asia, the islands of the South Seas, she has seized upon. About all the world is taken up except the vast and ill-populated and undefended stretches of incalculable wealth in the New World — South America and North America.

Now, add to the gloss that we have in specific facts upon the character and purpose of Germany, the avowed principles of Germany: no faith or treaties are binding on her; no law is to bind her when it is against the interests of Germany. National interest is above all obligations of law and faith. That is her supreme law.

To seize what she desires is right in her eyes. To lie when it will benefit his country, is honorable to a German gentleman. Not one of the principles that have illustrated the civilization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is held in the slightest regard by the military autocracy that rules Germany. They have harked back to those dark and dreadful days of the past when might was the only right, and all man need do was to seize what his strong right hand could hold; to those days when there was no liberty or justice for plain, common people; to those days when the principles of Rome governed the actions of men. Then turn your eyes to America, with Germany holding those principles, moved by such impulses, repudiating all laws and treaties upon which we rely for protection, with a lust for territory and a pride in conquest, and an overwhelming belief in the right of their race to dominate the world; and think what America would have had to meet if this war had closed with the success of Germany, with the fertile fields and the rich mines of South and North America lying undefended. As clear as the daylight on this morning is the lesson; as certain as the sunrise tomorrow was the inevitable fate of the United States if

Germany were to win this war. We have entered the war to fight for liberty, for democracy, not in the abstract, but in order that our children may inherit a free land, and be subject to no master, be subservient to no arrogant military caste. That is why we are fighting, and that calls for every ounce of weight we have in America; it calls for the sternness and severity of men who understand that we are fighting for life; it calls for a treatment of these recreant scoundrels who are trying to help the enemy of our liberty, treatment as severe and rigid as our strength makes it possible to extend.

We are going to fight, that our old men and children shall not be murdered, and our women outraged, that our opportunities in life shall not be cut off, and that our people who have lived with no political superior for more than a hundred years may not be reduced to a condition of vassals. And it is no easy thing; we have got to suffer and to endure. It is no business in which we should be concerned about trifles. We may not like this or that or the other thing that a public officer does. The main thing, the great thing is to do nothing that will retard or divert or hinder the exercise of the full power of the American people in this mighty conflict, and to do everything that we can to add to that power, and press forward to the accomplishment of the great and necessary object of winning the war.

Now, thoughtful Russians feel that. The war is at their doors. Their young men have died, and mourning is throughout the land, and they are wearied of the war; but they feel that their liberty will be lost if they do not gather again for the conflict; and we soon or late must come to feel it, and the sooner we feel it, the sooner it will be over and the victory won.

FAITH IN RUSSIA

ADDRESS AT A RECEPTION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK CITY
AUGUST 15, 1917

THE Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia, now in liquidation, was intentionally separated from any concern with business, with trade, investment, or enterprise for money-making of any kind. This was done carefully, and it was insisted upon strenuously by the Mission itself in Russia, in order that our message to the government and people of Russia might be free from any suspicion or color of selfish purpose. Yet I wish to say a few words to you about the substantial elements in Russian life and Russian conditions which should enter into a judgment, on your part, as to the confidence to which Russia is entitled.

I have just been talking in the City Hall about the conditions in which Russia found herself when the government of the Czar was ended — and I need not repeat what I said there. The extraordinary ease with which the Czar's government was removed, was due not merely to the fact that it was an autocracy, but also to the fact that it did not govern efficiently; it was not up to the job; it had allowed Russia to drift into a position where there was vast confusion and the country was on the verge of bankruptcy. The government had become, practically, merely a government of suppression, a government of negatives that ceased to lead the people, so that the Czar and the bureaucracy were slipped off as easily as a crab sheds its hard shell when the proper time comes.

And then Russia was left without a government. The laws which had their virtue from the command of the Czar seemed to have lost their sanction and moral force; the police disap-

peared; they were chased out, and those that were not disposed of in that way speedily became invisible. The Duma, in its last act, appointed a provisional government — that is, it appointed a number of gentlemen to fill the places of the heads of the executive departments — but that government had no power. It took up the machinery of administration, but it had no power to enforce a decree. The soldiers of Petrograd, who had been the physical force of the revolution, deferred to a voluntary organization of deputies of working-men and soldiers, who met in Petrograd, twenty-five hundred of them, and discussed and passed resolutions. The soldiers were with them, and the provisional government, while carrying on the machinery of administration, had no power to enforce a decree, and anybody in Russia was practically free to do anything he chose. Russia was under the control of thousands of local committees all over that vast land, without any relation to each other, and without any subordination to the machinery of the government in Petrograd. Now, not only was this acephalous condition created, but the people had never been thinking about the machinery of government, they had no institutions through which to carry on self-government. They had no habit of thought which would enable them to create institutions readily for national government. They were dazed, confused, bewildered. Up to the revolution it had been a criminal offense to hold meetings and discuss public questions. Under the rulings of the police three was an unlawful crowd, so that if three men undertook to talk about the weather in the street, they were required to move on or were arrested. Immediately after the revolution all Russia began to meet and discuss. That was the condition when the Mission reached there.

Now, into that state of affairs there came intervention by that malevolent power which is intermeddling with the

affairs of every nation upon earth, stirring up discord, stimulating, feeding, financing all the forces of evil — doing it here among us now. That power that finds its account in alliance with all evil passions, all the sordid impulses of humanity in every nation in the world, entered into Russia. Thousands of its agents poured over the border immediately upon the revolution. All the pro-German sympathizers in Russia were visited and spurred to action. Newspapers were purchased, and newspapers were established, literature was distributed, and a great propaganda went on to fill the minds of the simple-minded people, who had never thought or talked about political affairs, to fill their minds with the German view of the war and their duty. The men who correspond to the I. W. W. here, the extreme socialists and anarchists, with whom the German agents made common cause, preached and sought to bring about the destruction of the industrial and financial system in Russia, the destruction of nationalism in Russia, under the promise to the peasants and the workingmen of a universal brotherhood of the proletariat of the world, which should destroy all national government, and bring in a universal reign of peace and brotherly love, not suggesting to them what Germany might do in the meantime if the national force of Russia was destroyed for the purpose of bringing about the millennium.

Notwithstanding all this, in a country with no central government that had power to enforce its decrees, in a country with no police, a country in which the sanction and moral obligation of the laws had disappeared with the disappearance of the Czar, there reigned order to a higher degree than has existed in the United States of America during this period.

In the first enthusiasm for freedom and in the liberation of political prisoners, a great many ordinary criminal prisoners were also released, and they went about and committed some

depredations which of course all found their way into the newspapers; but even with that, the general average of peace and order, of respect for property and life in Russia, was higher than could reasonably be expected from any hundred and eighty million people in the world under any government.

Now, that extraordinary phenomenon called for a study, a careful study, not merely from the newspapers or from talking with government officials, but by countless serious interviews and conversations with men of all grades and stripes and callings and conditions of life; and these studies satisfied all the members of this Mission that the Russian people possessed, to a very high degree, qualities that are necessary for successful self-government. They have self-control equalled in few countries of the world. They have persistency of purpose; they have a most kindly and ingrained respect — not only respect, regard — for the rights of others. They will not willingly do an injustice to any one, and that sense of justice carries with it a broad charity. They have a noble idealism which is developed and exhibited in the minds that are enlarged by education, and they have a strong sense of the mission of liberty in the world, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action. That is shown in their self-government in the village community in which their little affairs are dealt with in the most every-day method of discussion — agreement — subordination of individual views to the general opinion; in the zemstvos which take in a little larger scope; in the town councils and in the union during the war of these local agencies for general purposes, the union of zemstvos and the union of the war munition committees, which are all working together most successfully and practically. There you see the union of citizens for political purposes which comes very close to government. So we came to the conclusion that the Russian

people have, in a very high degree, the qualities necessary to create and maintain a successful free government.

That is the test. There can be no more fatal gift to a people than the duty of self-government when their characters are not equal to the performance of the duty. The question of a people's maintaining their freedom is not to be determined by the little spectacular incidents which are picked up and published with headlines in the newspapers. The question is to be determined by the underlying and real character of the people. If their character is right, against all enemies and all misfortunes they will win through to established freedom. If their character is unequal to the task, all the aid of all the great countries in the world cannot give them their freedom. Freedom must find its foundation, its sure foundation, within the people themselves, and we think the Russians have that sure foundation.

Now there is great financial difficulty in Russia; the old régime brought the country into a very involved and critical condition financially; and there is great disturbance industrially. But when I have met people, and I have, a great many, who shake their heads over the industrial and financial conditions there, I have thought always, with a cheerful reassurance, of what a character these people have, and I have remembered that our dollar in the Civil War was as low as the Russian rouble, and I have no doubt that the character of the Russians will pull up their finances just as the character of Americans pulled up our finances.

I remembered, also, that in a country where eighty-five per cent of the people are land-owning peasants, industrial and financial difficulties do not cut so deep as they do in a country which is chiefly industrial in the ordinary sense of the word. There is no such convulsion caused by troubles which affect only fifteen per cent of the people, as where there are troubles which affect the whole; that is, the more highly

organized, industrially and financially, a country is, the greater ruin brought by industrial and financial difficulties. With Russia, all financial trouble that there is or may be, passing over the heads of eighty-five per cent of the people, affects them little.

A schedule, an appraisement of the property of Russia — that is, the available property which could be used for the production of income, or sold for productive purposes — has just been made; it has been made under the direction of Mr. Pakrovsky, former minister of finance under the Czar's government, a gentleman whose ability and integrity are most highly respected, and while it is not completed in detail, he finds that a moderate appraisement of that property, appraised just as you would appraise the property of any corporation, exceeds over sixty billion dollars. So you have a background against which to consider Russia — this vast property, the value of which of course depends upon the maintenance of a stable government, protecting property rights, and for the existence of such a government you have the true character of the Russian people and their respect for property rights. You have that vast country to be opened, to be developed, the great stretch through Siberia, from the Urals to the Pacific, with unimaginable wealth of the same kind which has made the power of our great republic. You have the wealth, you have the character, you have the opportunity for development, and with these, I feel certain that Russia is going to create and maintain a free self-government which will make her a republic worthy to stand side by side with the great republic of the United States, and a republic which will spur us to higher effort in order that we may be worthy to stand with her.

There is but one danger I see, and that is that Russia, God forbid it, may be overwhelmed by Germany; and if that were to happen, the development of the free institutions in

Russia, adapted to her life and character and the genius of the Russian people, would be made impossible. The Russians know that — the thoughtful men of Russia know that — and, with courage worthy of all honor, with courage worthy of imitation by us, they are wrestling mightily to prevent that great misfortune. No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost seven millions of her sons, with every village in mourning, every family bereaved; Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has to a great extent restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and the suffering of war in order that she may continue free. Ah! If we love freedom, if we are true children of our fathers, and cherish their ideals, confidence and hope will go out from us to those brave Russians who are fighting our battles as they are fighting their own; and we will uphold the hands of our Government and encourage the spirit of our people to do our duty beyond measure, to help them in their great and noble work.

SYMPATHY WITH RUSSIA

ADDRESS AT THE BANQUET OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, SARATOGA SPRINGS, NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 7, 1917

At the conclusion of its Saratoga session, the American Bar Association tendered a banquet to Mr. Root, at which the toastmaster, ex-Senator George Sutherland of Utah, the president of the Association, introduced Mr. Root in the following words:

> The American Bar Association, departing from its usual custom, has given this dinner in honor of its most distinguished member, a lawyer of profound learning and great ability, schooled in the best traditions of a noble profession. It has been my good fortune to know, more or less intimately, a large proportion of the public men of my generation, and to be reasonably familiar with the history of the others, and I take advantage of this occasion to say—not by way of idle compliment, but as a matter of profound conviction—that this great American whom we thus honor will pass into the history of his country as the safest counsellor and wisest statesman of his time.
>
> I present with pleasure—I present with very real and great affection, our distinguished guest and former president, Elihu Root.

IT is very hard to speak after such an introduction. It is hard to forget the sense of unworthiness caused by such words as the too partial friendship of Senator Sutherland has permitted him to use; but who could remain silent who has a voice in these days? Who can think of his own personality amid the tremendous issues that confront us and the terrible responsibility that rests upon us? Men are nothing. From out of the dead level of ordinary humdrum life, from ease and comfort, the struggle for place and fortune, the common things of every day, the rising feeling of duties and ideals and devotion sinks all personality.

There are no persons now; there is only a country. There are no countries now: there is only a world in which the great conflict has come between right and wrong, between the angels of light and the angels of darkness; and we are,

each one of us, but an indistinguishable particle in the great conflict that is to determine the future of mankind.

I promised some of my friends, in response to their questioning, that I would tell you something tonight about Russia. I can do it only because it is a part of the great drama of intense interest that has turned this meeting of the American Bar Association from a conference over dry laws and technical and scientific questions into a great patriotic meeting.

Let me say something about Russia, poor, harried, bleeding, agonizing Russia. In March last, the government of the Czar had brought Russia to the verge of bankruptcy. The Czar was dethroned, not merely because he was an autocrat — that would have waited until the war was over — but because his government was incompetent and dishonest; because the men who were controlling in that government were bought with German money and were traitors to their country, to the great cause in which Russia had enlisted.

The Duma was in session, and wise and able men in that body perceived that the bureaucratic government was making its arrangements for a separate peace, in violation of the pledged faith of Russia; a peace which would have inflicted intolerable shame upon their country through desertion of those other nations who had come to the aid of Russia in her struggle. Wise and able men there charged the government with the purpose to make a separate peace. The Czar issued an order that the Duma dissolve, and the Duma refused to dissolve, and that precipitated the revolution.

Upon that, the great body of socialists in Petrograd who had been attacking the government, had been forming their plans ultimately to overthrow the government, arose, took to the street, called upon the Petrograd garrison whom they had won over to their views, and drove out the police of the bureaucracy. The agents of the Duma called upon the Czar

for his abdication; and he abdicated. The Duma immediately appointed new heads of all the departments, who took possession of the machinery of government. The socialists formed themselves into a body which was known as the Council of Deputies of Workingmen and Soldiers, some twenty-five hundred in number, and they had adhering to them the Petrograd garrison. And then, with the Czar's government disposed of, disappearing in a night, there were left in Russia the heads of the executive department who controlled the machinery of administration, and the Council of Deputies of Workingmen and Soldiers, who had the control and leadership of the Petrograd garrison, that is to say, the physical force, in their control. The provisional Council of Ministers appointed by the Duma had the machinery of government, but they had no power to execute their decrees. The Council of Deputies of Workingmen and Soldiers, a purely voluntary body, had the physical power as they had the garrison with them, but they had no competence for government, and they did not undertake to carry on government; and so the country stood with no effective government, a government of moral suasion alone; and that vast people of one hundred and eighty million, covering one-sixth of the habitable globe, looked about in bewilderment and confusion, and began to discuss their rights, their powers and duties; began to rejoice in the new freedom from oppression.

Four months ago, when the Diplomatic Mission from the United States landed at Vladivostock, there were thousands of committees which had been formed in every town and in every city, and almost every village, in every garrison and camp and division and regiment of the great Russian army. These thousands of committees undertook to regulate their local affairs. They had no relation to each other, and they had no subordination to any general government. Seventy-five per cent of the people could not read and write. With a

very few exceptions, they had no knowledge and no experience in self-government. They had no institutions through which to govern, and we all know there can be no self-government except through institutions of government. Yet in that extraordinary condition there was as perfect order in Russia as existed in the United States.

In Petrograd not a policeman was to be found; the old police of the bureaucracy had been chased away, gone into hiding, or into exile; and no police had taken their place. But there was no time during that period when a young woman could not have walked from one end of Petrograd to the other at any hour of the day or night in perfect safety.

Then they addressed themselves to the novel subject of forming a government to take the place of the old autocracy. There were two elements, the socialists, who, of course, desired a government of socialism, and the great body of the Russian people, most of them land-owning peasants, with a small proportion of business men and a small proportion of large land-owners; and these two elements stood and looked at each other in doubt as to what they should do, wholly inexperienced; and they began to take the first steps towards the creation of government.

The socialists had two wings — the moderate and reasonable socialists of the American type, the same kind who run a candidate for President every four years now, with cheerful hope; and the extreme socialists of the German type, who demanded immediate and full application of the theory of socialism. They proposed that there should be an immediate destruction of all capital. They proposed to destroy the industrial organization of Russia; and they proposed to destroy the nationalism of Russia in the expectation of substituting for nationalism throughout the world the "Universal Brotherhood of the Proletariat" which should immediately usher in the millenium. Their idea was that they

would have no national government in Russia, and they would immediately destroy the national governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and incidentally Germany. The key of all that went on in Russia through months was the desire to separate the modern and reasonable socialists, who sought to obtain the fruition of their theories through building up national democracies, from the extreme German type of socialists who sought immediately to apply their wild and vague theory.

Then there came a tremendous German propaganda. Thousands of German agents came across the border after the revolution; and they spent money like water, no one can tell how much they spent. They stirred up all the German sympathizers in Russia. They purchased newspapers, established newspapers, and printed other literature; they went up and down the front, talking to the soldiers in the trenches and in the reserve camps. They said to the Russian soldier, " Why do you fight ? This was the Czar's war. The Czar is gone now. Why do you keep on fighting ?" They said also to them, " Why do you kill us ? We are your friends. Why do you want to get killed yourselves ? It is very unpleasant. You had better go home and take part in the division of the land. All the land in Russia is to be divided, and if you do not hurry home, you will be left." And those millions of men who did not read were talked to in this way, and when it was said, this was not their war, they were compelled to realize that it was not. Nobody had told them what the war was about; they had never been instructed about it; they had no knowledge of the great issues involved; and accordingly, by the millions, the Russians left the trenches and the camps and wandered all over the country, finding their way back to their homes; and all through the Russian army the idea ran that peace had come, and there was no further occasion for war. And so that government stood

without any power in the government to enforce a decree, with an army wearied of war, as all Europe is wearied of war today, tired of sacrifice and suffering, glad to have the killing and maiming come to an end; glad that no more lives were to be added to the millions who had been lost in Russia; and that peace and order were to reign.

Discipline in the army, of course, then disappeared. The officers who had been severe in their treatment of the soldiers were dismissed and sent away, the soldiers' committees took charge, and with Germany at the gates a condition existed in which the successful prosecution of war was impossible. There was no government which had the power to enforce law. Indeed, the law had lost its sanction as law; it had died with the Czar. It was not like our law, which is made by the people — it was made by the Czar, and the Czar had gone, and his word had no further authority. There was no law, no power. The great body of the people, with little or no understanding of the great questions confronting them, delighted in the sense of freedom; but they respected each other's rights, and they maintained order. The German agents made common cause with the extreme and unreasonable socialists, and to them were added those unknown secret agents of the bureaucratic government. And the extreme wing of violent destructive socialism, which corresponds to the I. W. W. in our own country, and the agents of the old secret police and the agents of Germany, made common cause in attempting to destroy all industry, all property, all capital and all effectiveness of government in Russia.

Now, in that condition a few men — very few at first — stood up and spurned the offer of a separate peace from Germany. They said, "We will not stain our country by this disgraceful conduct. We will maintain the war; we will fight for the liberty which we have newly won; we will begin the career of a new democracy of Russia, with faith and

honor. We will save the people of Russia from the disgrace which these men seek to put upon it."

They were the provisional government of Russia. Wisely, patiently, they separated the reasonable socialists from the extremists. They finally won them over, and when they had won them over, they had won the Petrograd garrison also. And when they had won the Petrograd garrison, with the moderate socialists, they were ready to govern.

I got up one morning in the quarters of the Diplomatic Mission, in the Winter Palace. We had on one side of us, occupying a part of that vast pile, a great military hospital filled with wounded. On the other side, in the rooms which had been used as a prison for the palace, there were confined some eighty anarchists who had just been arrested the night before. Across the way were the barracks of the most mutinous regiment of the Petrograd garrison. I looked out of the window into the court-yard of the palace, and there I saw the court-yard filled with Cossacks, who were standing and sitting about, sharpening their swords, and I said, " The time has come when the government of Russia can begin to govern." And it had. The Cossacks went out into the streets of Petrograd, and from that time on the flag of destructive revolutionism, the black flag of the men who sought to destroy Russia, has been driven from those streets.

Many disturbing things have been reported in our newspapers of events in Russia, happening during the past two months. But the changes in the government of Russia which took place after our Mission left, until its return home, were the changes which were marked out, and explained to me, before we left. What will happen in the future, of course, no one can tell.

What was represented as being another revolution, what was represented as being the surrender of the government to turbulent forces, was but the accomplishment of a settled

purpose long ago determined upon and explained to me before we left — the purpose to put Kerensky in the place he now holds, with the power to restore order.

Through his extraordinary power — and he has extraordinary power, this young man in the thirties, with amazing intensity, with power to put every drop of blood in his body into his words when he reaches out and seizes upon the souls of his audience, and with a devotion to his country, a flaming enthusiasm for liberty and order never surpassed in our day — Kerensky set out upon the tremendous task of restoring at once the power of a civil government to maintain order in Russia and restore the morale of the Russian army.

He has wise and skillful and able men with him, men who joined in putting him at the head of the government, not seeking their own elevation, not seeking their own aggrandizement, but seeking to put at the head of the government the man whom they recognized as the most fit man to do the great work that had to be done.

He has, in a great measure, restored the morale of Russia's army, and that army which from the Baltic to the Black Sea had agreed that there was no more fighting to do, is now fighting along that line, and is now dying in the trenches along that line. Ninety-five per cent of them have gone back to the terrible task of maintaining the integrity of their country against the advance of the Germans.

Here and there is a soft spot, here and there is a place where German corruption and German influence have won over an officer or a regiment, and when that soft spot is touched — and the Germans know where it is — there is a disaster, but still they fight on.

The newspapers are filled with accounts of disputes, of political conflict, but how is it possible for a nation which began in the beginning with no government at all, with no institutions, with no habits of thought or action adapted to

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the exercise of the powers of government, how is it possible for them to avoid disputes and controversies ? When you read in the newspapers about what happens in Russia, I beg you to remember how the people of Europe looked upon the condition of America for many a long year after the peace that ended the American Revolution. How certain they were that the new experiment in democracy was a failure. How they sneered and laughed at the presumptuous farmers who sought to govern themselves. I beg you to remember what Europe thought of the condition in America in those long dark years of civil war, when it was believed that the American experiment had failed at last.

I beg you to consider if a true statement were made and communicated by cable to Russia, of all that has been happening in these United States during the past four months, of the riots, of the pacifist meetings, of the seditious press, of the unblushing effrontery of treason throughout this land, what effect that would have upon Russia. I beg you to consider whether if that were sent over to Russia, it would not seem worse to the Russians than the story which comes to us from Russia today.

A terrible task they have undertaken. Often their hearts must faint; often it must seem as if they were fighting to accomplish the impossible; but they have one thing upon which they can rely, that is the character of the people of Russia. Why was it that when no police and no government was there, order was maintained in Russia ? It was because the Russian people have in the highest degree the qualities that are necessary to successful self-government.

They have self-control. They are naturally law-abiding. They have natural consideration for the feelings and the interests of others. They have a natural sense of justice. They would not willingly do injustice to anyone in the world; and their justice is enlarged and ennobled by beautiful

charity. They are the kindest people towards the unfortunate and the erring that I know of. With all that, they have persistence and rugged continuance of purpose, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action which has been shown in their local self-government. In their village communities they long have managed their own affairs in their little town meetings with the mayor presiding, where they would discuss and take the will of the majority, and everybody agreed to it. They have done the same in their zemstvos, and they have gone further. This war was not well carried on by the old régime, and in order to carry it on, the Russian people rose and formed combinations of their own zemstvos into an all-Russian union of zemstvos. They formed special war munition committees; and it was these bodies of zemstvos and the war munitions committees that kept the armies going after the old Russian régime had been swept aside. Thus they have carried their self-government into the national field until they have attained a condition which approaches national self-government. In their business affairs they show self-government. I went in Moscow, to the Narodny Bank, or the People's Bank, and saw the corporation employees gathered together, and speeches were made to and fro, and among others, a young man arose and said he would like to tell about the flax industry in Russia. He said that the flax people, great numbers of them, had united and formed a union for the purpose of marketing their flax and purchasing their necessary supplies, and they had succeeded in that, and they were carrying on their business, by the agencies that they created at a cost not exceeding two and a half per cent. Now, probably the majority of them were unable to read and write. Those people, those peasants, with those qualities, are competent to create and maintain a self-government. That is the test. If people have the character of a self-governing people, they will win out in

self-government. If they have not that character of self-government, then all the powers on earth will not make them a self-governing people. Above all this they have a noble idealism. They are capable of entertaining conceptions of something above the ordinary affairs of every-day life. They are capable not merely of forming and maintaining self-government, but they are capable of doing great things for the betterment of mankind and the advancement of liberty.

To preserve the liberty of those people, this little band of men striving to restore the morale of the Russian army, trying to teach those poor peasants in the army who do not read and write, teach them why they must be ready to sacrifice their lives; trying to show them that their liberty requires still further sacrifices from them; this little band of men agonizing with their fellow-countrymen, struggling with this mighty task, surely should have the sympathy and the aid of the people of this republic, who enjoy freedom and prosperity and opportunity through the hard sacrifices our fathers made.

I am glad to have gone to Russia because it has put into my heart a sympathy for those struggling people which makes me a better man. This war has done many things already. I know that for one battered old campaigner who has been through the rude buffets of life for half a century, it has dissolved that hardness of the heart which brings indifference to the dreams of youth. It has brought sympathy, ennobling sympathy, to us all. Sympathy for poor, struggling, bleeding Russia. Sympathy for little Belgium, like a ravished child trodden down by brutal and bestial force. Sympathy for the noble patriotism and lofty character of beautiful France. Sympathy for the patriotism that leads the Italians to the mountain summits for the recovery of Italia Irredenta. Sympathy for that great race which through a thousand years of stubborn and rugged individual independence has

developed the liberty we now enjoy. And for the mild and complacent surface kindliness which we once professed for all the world, there has come a deep and real sympathy of the heart with all these nations that have become our allies! We are growing real instead of superficial. We are substituting reality for pretense.

But there is something more than mere sympathy that this war has already brought. We have been talking in this country of free lives and liberty and justice, of freedom and opportunity, of American institutions, of the mission of democracy, about the ideals of our fathers, and we have been talking from the teeth outward. We have not felt it. I will not say we were dead in trespasses and sins; but we were dead or sleeping in wealth and ease and comfort. The brutal power of Germany, which has repudiated everything that civilization has accomplished for the century past, which has repudiated the law of morals and declared the German state to be superior to all morality; which has repudiated the law of humanity, and has without quavering committed the most dreadful outrages in order that she might have the benefit of inspiring terror in the world, the brutal power of Germany has revealed at last to our comfort-loving people the unreality of our lives, and has shown, bare and naked, the dreadful, horrid truth of human nature unrelieved by morals or religion or humanity. It has shown to us as we never realized before, what liberty and justice, what humanity and compassion, what morality and right, really are.

We need not talk about the whys and wherefores of the war. It is here and the issue is drawn so clearly that a child could see. It is for the American people to determine whether they have the manhood to maintain the liberty that their fathers gained for them through sacrifice; the manhood to maintain the justice upon which we have prided ourselves; the manhood to defend those institutions of liberty

and justice which we would hand down to our children; or whether we shall submit and abandon them all.

The issue is clear and distinct between the maintenance of the American republic, free and independent; American justice to the rich and poor alike; American opportunity for the boy and the girl; and being so craven that we will leave our children to be subjected to the power of evil that ravished Belgium and Servia. Whether falsehood and faithlessness and cynical contempt for morals, and cold-blooded disregard of humanity, and utter absence of mercy and compassion and denial of human right, shall be the portion of our children, or whether the liberty which our fathers won shall be handed down to them by the manhood of our fathers' sons and the love of our children's fathers.

Ah! It has come not too soon. It was at the eleventh hour that we came into the vineyard. The great opportunity of the American people was slipping away before they could grasp it — the opportunity to make themselves into the image of our fathers. The opportunity is to die, if need be, and to give our dearest ones to death, that our country may live, that its liberty may live, that its justice may endure, that its opportunity for those who toil and endure, may continue. We have grasped the opportunity for that sacrifice and suffering through which we shall find our souls again.

I thought as I listened today to the sad story of Edith Cavell, that it could not be that an infinite God would permit such a dreadful injustice to overcome the world. I do not know. We cannot measure the providences of God; but I have faith in the power of God's people, and God's people are the democracies of the earth. They are not the czars or the kaisers or the emperors or the autocrats or the aristocracies of the earth; they are the democracies of the earth. And I have faith in the power of democracy triumphant.

I believe that struggling Russia and down-trodden Belgium and awakened England and enduring France and aspiring Italy and renewed America, fighting in God's name for the principles of His religion, for that compassion, that morality, that justice, which Christ preached upon earth, will overcome the forces of a dark and wicked past, and bring the world into a new day of brighter light and happier life. And in that faith, I live — with all the sorrows, the disappointments and the loss — I live a prouder American than I have ever been before.

ADDRESS OF JOHN R. MOTT

AT THE GREAT SOBOR OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH
MOSCOW, JUNE 19, 1917

MY friend Mr. Crane, and I have been profoundly touched by your whole-souled welcome. We appreciate sincerely the high honor you have conferred upon us in granting us the rare privilege of coming into your midst and participating in your significant assembly. We come in the name of the President and people of the United States of America. President Wilson in appointing a special mission to Russia consisting of our seven associates and ourselves, and having at its head Senator Root, one of our most eminent American statesmen, charged us with the responsibility of conveying to the entire Russian nation the expression of the sympathy and good will of America at this momentous period of their history. We have recognized clearly that if our message is to reach the entire Russian nation and people it must be brought to the Russian Orthodox Church because we well know that your great church constitutes indeed the heart of Russia.

Through all the years of the life of the American nation we have been bound to Russia by ties of friendship. They have been years of unbroken peace and of mutual helpfulness. The Russian revolution with its triumph of democratic principles has established a new bond between these two great democracies. An even stronger bond was created when America decided to enter the world war and thus to identify herself with Russia in the great life and death struggle. What unity can be stronger than that which causes peoples to mingle for common ideals and purposes their very life-blood. Just as the

juices of the separate grapes are poured together under the pressure of the wine-press, so this titanic and unparalleled struggle which calls upon our two peoples to lay down on the altar of the world's liberty our best life-blood will serve, as no other experience, to establish a deep and permanent unity between the Russian and American nations.

The best way in which we can voice our sense of appreciation of your welcome is to say quite simply and sincerely, that we feel entirely at home as we come among you. It has been the privilege of both Mr. Crane and myself to maintain an intimate touch with many of the leaders and members of the various Eastern churches. Only a few years ago while in the Levant I had the honor of meeting with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch and also of visiting the ecclesiastical academies and theological seminaries on the Island of Halki, where through the kind arrangement of the Ecumenical Patriarch I gave addresses to the students and professors, and also in Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Egypt. We have likewise valued highly our frequent contacts with the Russian Orthodox Church. Such opportunities have presented themselves in our own country where your Church is so well established. In our different visits to Russia also, we have enjoyed the helpful fellowship with members of the Russian Church. Moreover, in my four visits to Japan I have always come into touch with the fruitful mission of your Church. On two of those visits I had the never-to-be-forgotten privilege of intimate association with that great Christian missionary and apostle, Archbishop Nicolai. On one occasion he attended the Christian Student Conference which I was conducting and while there gave a most powerful address on how to bring the truth of Christ to the educated classes of Japan. On my last visit to that country I conducted a conference of the leaders of the Christian forces and your own Bishop Sergius and also the head

of your theological seminary were present as delegates. The opportunity of mingling with Russian Christians which I have appreciated most deeply was that which came to me during my two visits to the prisoner-of-war camps in Germany and Austria-Hungary. Possibly many of you do not know that the Christians of America early in the war were given permission to extend the helpful ministry of the Young Men's Christian Association to the prison camps of these countries, and that we have had over thirty wise and unselfish American workers busily engaged throughout the larger part of the war in helping to meet the needs of the Russian prisoners as well as those of the other Allied countries. It would be difficult, yes impossible, to express to you adequately the sense of joy and deep satisfaction it has afforded us to be permitted in this way to become better acquainted with the Russian people and with the Russian soul. Anything which God will permit us to do directly or indirectly to serve the Russian prisoners we will gladly do.

There are three words or messages which I wish to bring to all the members of this Sobor, and through you to the more than one hundred million men and women who belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. The first message I would convey is one of the deep gratitude of the American people to the Russian Christians and to the Russian people as a whole. We shall never forget the service rendered by Russia to our country at the time of our War for Independence, and also again in the midst of our Civil War. Moreover, we recognize that in the present world war the Russian soldiers and people have been fighting battles for us. I realize in some measure what a price you have paid on our behalf as well as your own in struggling for the freedom of the world, because I remember the two million lonely Russian prisoners so many of whom I have visited in the prisoner-of-war camps; also your hundreds of military hospitals which have at times been so

crowded with their suffering inmates; nor do I forget the countless graves and sorrowing homes. As we reflect on these sacrifices and sufferings is it strange that my people feel under a sense of lasting gratitude to Russia ? We are also deeply grateful because of what you are proposing and planning to do to continue this struggle to a successful issue. That you will do this we do not question. Let me also mention as a ground for thankfulness to Russia the valuable constructive service accomplished within the United States by the Russian Orthodox Church. America is a cosmopolitan country. Among the people who have come to us from different lands are millions of Russians. What do we not owe to your Church in following them with its blessed ministries and helping to develop among them true Christian citizens! Never can we speak too highly of the splendid foundations laid by your church leaders such as the highly beloved Archbishop Platon and Archbishop Nikhon. American Christians are likewise profoundly grateful to the Russian Church for all that it has done through the centuries to enrich our common Christianity. We think of your great contributions in the realm of ecclesiastical architecture and sacred art, through your noble and uplifting churches and cathedrals, through the wonderful frescoes and paintings and through the many priceless ikons. We have been profoundly moved by your church music, a sphere in which you excel all the Christians. Here let me pay a tribute to my countryman and friend, Mr. Charles R. Crane, who through the years has had such a sympathetic interest in all that is best in Russian life. As some of you know, he was the means, through his large financial coöperation, of bringing over to America some of your best church singers and of building up in connection with the Russian Cathedral in New York, one of the best Russian church choirs in the world. Its sacred concerts given among lovers of the best music in all our great

cities, in our universities and at Christian gatherings have already accomplished much in the direction of cultivating among the Christians of America a love for the best church music. One of your greatest contributions to the Christian religion has been your faithful and fearless witness through the centuries to great and essential Christian truths. With grateful memory we also recall the lives of many of your confessors, martyrs, and saints.

My second message is an expression of solicitude and sympathetic caution lest in this time of great upheaval the position and hold of the Russian Church be weakened. The foundations of the world are heaving. Institutions which we had thought solid and enduring have proved to be resting on shifting sand. Christ and His Church were never so necessary, never so unique and, if given their central position, will prove never to have been more sufficient. None of us will forget that in the period of the Tartars and in other times of grave menace it was the Russian Church which held the nation together. It has been most encouraging and inspiring to visit this great gathering and to see the open-minded and thorough way in which so many of your church leaders are facing their problems and seeking to adapt the church to new and modern conditions. This process is sure to result in great and lasting good. Let us have the courage to welcome and accept the truth from any quarter. In this period of change and readjustment, while we are earnestly seeking to lay hold of new truth for the life and work of the church, let us with like intensity and conviction hold fast to all that is true in historic Christianity; let us continue to ring true regarding the unchangeable and mighty truths of creedal Christianity; let us in a day of crass materialism and of cold intellectualism preserve the priceless possession of mystical Christianity; let us at all costs see that our Christianity is abounding in vitality; and, through the fearless and unflinch-

ing application of Christ's principles, let us insist that it be made an adequate transforming power in social and national life and in international relationships.

My third message is one of hope and reassurance. You are engaged in the greatest struggle which the world has ever known. I come to remind you that the United States is with you in this conflict to the very end. The American people love peace and hate war. We did all that we could do in justice to our conscience to keep out of this world war, but finally to be true to our souls and our highest guiding principles we found it necessary to join you and the other Allies. In doing so we have counted the cost and are ready to pay it. Since I left my home over ten millions of American young men have registered themselves as ready to serve their nation in this struggle in any way which the authorities may designate. This great host are being called up in lots of five hundred thousand each to be thoroughly trained. The week I left America fourteen great officers' camps were opened in which over forty thousand officers are being prepared for their responsibilities. Our Congress have already authorized the raising by loans and taxation for meeting the requirements of the war the equivalent of over thirty billions of roubles. Our various states and municipalities as well as the National Government have thrown themselves with earnestness into the work of preparation. All our great industries are being mobilized with reference to rendering the maximum of service in the war. The work of production and distribution has been put in the ablest hands for the same purpose, and our means of communication have been placed at the disposal of the Government. General Pershing and some of the first contingent of our troops have landed in France. We already have naval vessels at work in European waters. It may safely be said that ninety-nine per cent, if not more, of the American people stand solidly behind our great President in

the purposes which he has announced. Let this message, therefore, remind you that you are not alone. Go back to all your parishes in cities, towns, and villages and tell the Russian people that America is with them. Say to them that just as Russia came to the help of America in the darkest hours of her history, so America now joins Russia in this moment of grave crisis. Tell them to stand firmly behind the Provisional Government. Tell them to be true to the Church that it may in this time of colossal strain preserve the solidarity of the nation. Tell them that we believe that, in view of what Russia has already achieved in this war, in view of the wonderful sacrifices which the Russian people have already made, in view of the vast and vital issues at stake, and in view of the urgency of the situation and the gravity of the crisis, Russia and her allies must continue steadfast to the end. Above all let the Church be unfailing in reminding the people that God only can enable us to accomplish His high and holy purpose. While everything else is changeable and changing, Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, yea, and forever.

ADDRESS OF JOHN R. MOTT

AT A DINNER GIVEN BY MR. EMANUEL NOBEL AT HIS HOME IN PETROGRAD, JUNE 21, 1917

AFTER the felicitous words of our honored and beloved ambassador, Mr. Francis, it is not necessary that I should reiterate the expression of deepest gratitude of my associates and myself for the gracious and generous hospitality of our host. We esteem it a great honor and privilege to meet in the home of one who is associated in our thoughts with so many valuable and constructive services for mankind, and also to have fellowship this evening with this particular group of men of wide outlook and of responsiveness to the highest purposes which move men. It is an added source of satisfaction to those of us who belong to the Special Mission, sent by President Wilson to Russia, to find here tonight the members of the council of the Miyak Society. One of the purposes of our Mission, as emphasized by President Wilson, is that we shall study ways in which Russia and America can best coöperate. The Miyak and its work constitute one of the finest illustrations of unselfish coöperation between large-minded and large-hearted citizens of these two great nations. It has been an inspiring sight through all the recent years to observe how in this organization the streams of benevolence, of experience, of idealism and of practical working efficiency of the two nationalities have blended to the mutual helpfulness of both peoples. Thus while we of the Special Mission from America are studying and discussing the subject of coöperation between the two peoples, you of this beneficent society, both the members of your council and your able secretaries as well as your unfailing supporters here and in America are actually exemplifying a splendid coöperation.

Although this is my fourth visit to Russia, it is the first time that I have had the opportunity to travel throughout the vast breadth of this country as it stretches from ocean to ocean. As I have journeyed from Vladivostok to Petrograd and as I have considered more thoroughly than ever before the needs and possibilities of the great cities of Russia, I have been asking myself day by day why should there not be a chain of Miyaks bringing the helpful ministries of this society to the young men and boys of all the principal Russian cities. My study of the valuable and constructive work accomplished by the Miyak in Petrograd has convinced me that what you have been doing here is reproducible, and the question may well be raised whether the time is not at hand when this helpful agency should be transplanted gradually, yet as rapidly as practicable, first to Moscow and then to other leading centers of population.

We are living in the most eventful and critical moment in the life of Russia. It is a time of upheaval and readjustment to be followed in the near future by a period of significant reconstruction. At such a moment it is fitting that we re-examine the foundations of greatness in the life of a nation. What is it that makes a nation truly great ? Not the extent of its territory or dominions; not the size of its population; not the number of its millionaires; not the strength and output of its industrial establishment — none of these constitute the real source of greatness in a nation. Moreover, education by itself, in the common acceptation of the term, cannot ensure true national greatness. We all know that one of the best, if not the best educated nation in the world is possibly the most dangerous nation. Education simply sharpens the weapons and makes one more skillful in their use, — but uses them for what and against what ? It was said of the brilliant Lorenzo di Medici that " he was cultured yet corrupt, wise yet cruel, spending the morning writing a sonnet

in praise of virtue and spending the night in vice." I care not how well educated a man may be; if he has low ideals, a corrupt heart and an ungoverned will, he is a menace to society and a seam of weakness in the life of the nation. What then makes a nation truly great? The ideals, the character and the spirit of a people; and history shows that ideals cannot be placed and held at their highest, that character cannot be made symmetrical and strong, and that the spirit cannot be made free and triumphant apart from the help of true religion. Therefore, the work of a society like the Miyak, which corresponds to the Young Men's Christian Association of America and other lands, is striking at the heart of the most critical problems in the life of the nation. What could be more important than to make sure that such agencies are securely planted, ably led, and generously supported in all of the principal cities of Russia.

There is another field in Russia for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association which presents an even more urgent appeal at this present hour, and that is the millions of Russian young men in the army and navy. The war has reached its most critical stage. The young men in the training camps, in the reserve camps, and in the trenches, and likewise on the war vessels and at the naval stations, will determine more than any other one factor the outcome. How desirable it is that everything possible be done to preserve among them high morale, efficient action and a conquering spirit. The experience in the other great armies of the Allies has shown conclusively that the work of these associations has accomplished wonders in ensuring these highly desirable and essential results. Such work has spread in the British army until now it is conducted at two thousand different points. Since the war began they have expended in support of such associations over one million pounds. Thousands of efficient secretaries and tens of thousands of

unselfish volunteer workers are busily engaged in bringing this helpful ministry to their five millions of soldiers. It has been introduced with like success into the brilliant French army, that army which has made such a remarkable record in this war. At hundreds of points in the garrison cities, in the reserve camps, and now quite near the fighting lines, they have established these associations known as *Foyers du Soldat*. Since I have been in Petrograd I have received a cablegram from France asking me to secure and send to them five hundred Americans to enable them to extend this society more widely and rapidly throughout the entire French army. Recently also the Italian Government has permitted the Association to begin similar work among their soldiers. A remarkable service has been accomplished by this society in that army which has had to endure so much suffering and strain, the one in Mesopotamia. The day that America decided to enter the war a telegram was sent to President Wilson placing at the disposal of the American Government the organization of the Young Men's Christian Association. He accepted the offer with most hearty appreciation and has done everything in his power to facilitate the work. He has issued a special executive order calling upon the officers in the American army to give the Association every practical facility for its work. During the past few weeks the Association called upon and received from the American people, rich and poor, for the support of this work in the American army for the first year, over four million dollars.

We have been glad to learn that at several points in different parts of Russia within the past few weeks similar work has been organized for the Russian soldiers. Is this not a most opportune time to spread these agencies for the physical, mental, and moral betterment of the soldiers among all parts of the great Russian army and into the navy as well? I do not fear for soldiers when they are fighting or when they

are drilling. The time concerning which I have anxiety is their leisure hours. Every soldier has a number of spare hours each day. Shall these hours be spent in idleness, in dissipation and in unprofitable agitation; or shall they be spent in helpful recreation, in growth, in knowledge, and mental efficiency, in strengthening of character and in unselfish service among one's fellows ? The Young Men's Christian Association has shown itself able to answer this vital question in the right way. Therefore, it has the unqualified endorsement of the generals and admirals of the armies and navies of the various Allied countries where it has been introduced. We bespeak for this organization the hearty approval and coöperation of the discerning leaders of Russia and, in particular, of the officers, soldiers, and sailors. Let me in closing express on behalf of the American people our desire to coöperate with our friends in Russia in every way in our power to facilitate the development of this helpful movement among your soldiers and sailors and likewise among other classes of your young men. We in America feel that during the past three years you have indeed been fighting our battles for us. You have paid tremendous prices which we can never adequately repay. Anything, therefore, which we can possibly do to strengthen your hands at this momentous hour, when with us and the other Allies you press on to achieve the full purpose of the war, we will gladly do.

ADDRESS OF JAMES DUNCAN

AT THE ALL RUSSIA TRADE UNION CONVENTION HELD IN PETROGRAD, JULY 5, 1917

AS a representative of the organized labor movement of North America—the American Federation of Labor—I greet and congratulate you on the great Russian revolution and on the possibility and on the fact of your holding this convention for the study and development of better conditions of employment and of compensation for labor performed.

The need for full organization among all the workmen in your new democracy is as essential, and I am sure as necessary, as we in America have found it to be.

It is, indeed, a pleasure to have this opportunity to meet so many representatives of trade unions in Russia. Build solidly into your respective organizations. It will be wiser to build safely and well than to have a speedily arranged membership with perhaps almost as speedy collapse.

Having gained your liberty from autocratic rule, the new and general constitution of your free people will provide how the new Russia is to be governed; and, as good union men you will prove you are true to your new trust and to the great responsibilities that representative government brings, by giving candid support to such officers as the new regulations will provide and as the new democracy of Russia will elect.

Above and beyond everything else, see to the safety of full democratic government for all Russia. Do not trifle with nor belittle this all-important subject. Under it you will remain free. If you let the opportunity slip from you a worse serfdom would await you even than you have suffered in the dark past.

This will come under the heading of your political activity, but do not let that fact lull you into the belief that your full interests as working men and women of Russia have thereby been accomplished. From the experience of the working people of the United States of America we advise that in addition to these political activities the working men and women of Russia should thoroughly and strongly organize into trade and labor unions. You will find, as we have found, that however beneficent a law may appear to be, the official, usually a politician, to whom authority is given to see that the law is carried into effect may become careless, if not antagonistic to your interests, unless he knows that the workers to whom the law applies are thoroughly organized and may go on strike to get the benefits of the law, in which case he will be more respectful of its provisions.

Later on, when a fuller and better understanding exists between the organized workers of America and of Russia, we will exchange with your unions our trade journals, our labor statistics and documents which will be found to be of mutual interest.

These publications we may have a chance to send you will also show the advantage of the encouragement and use of trade union labels upon products turned out by union workers. A label on the clothing we wear, on the books we read, on our shoes, and on the tools of our trade will indicate to the purchaser that they were made under fair conditions of employment. This has been a great development with us and in consequence we have many trade labels, for each trade having them introduced a label or stamp of its own. This was a result of many years of experience and development of the separate unions, each striving for the greatest individual accomplishment and introducing such labels as at first appeared to be of greatest individual service and which accounts for the number of them. From our experience we

recommend that among your organizations a general stamp or label may be used by all, for as you can act conjointly upon this subject it would be more efficient to have one general designation than for each occupation to have a label or stamp for itself.

Strenuous effort toward economic organization will put the people you represent into a position to arrange for practical trade agreements with employers providing for working conditions, such as fair wages or compensation for your labor power, clean and sanitary workshops, redress from such wrongs as from time to time arise, the eight-hour work day, half-holiday on Saturday, weekly pay-days in standard coin, overtime pay at time and a half for ordinary overtime and double pay for holidays and Sundays.

These and many other conditions affecting employment need to be dealt with as grievances occur and cannot be regulated by general legislation, nor can those who may be oppressed wait at all times for legislative relief, hence the need for practical organization and for trade regulations to deal with the inner life and needs of workers in their respective employments.

During war times you will find it advisable, as we have found it in America, to work much overtime to help produce munitions for the soldiers at the front. This should be done in two shifts of eight hours or three shifts of eight hours each in the twenty-four hour day, no workers being required to work more than eight hours in the twenty-four. Kindly keep in mind that the workers of all countries have the same contentions and tribulations to meet and to solve. They have the same industrial tyrants to contend with, consequently all workers in all countries must coöperate in the great duty of hastening the coming of not only free political democracy throughout the civilized world but making for the great industrial democracy under which there will be equal

justice to all and under which an all-round square deal will be the rule and guide of human activities.

The people of America came into the war without thought of gain other than that which comes from the extension of democracy, and consequently the decrease of monarchial rule. America, with Russia, therefore, forms a partnership of honor and with this object in mind each should and will perform its full part in bringing the war in Europe to a speedy and successful end.

Again expressing to you the fraternal greeting of the American Federation of Labor on your revolution and on your present convention and pledging to you our undivided support in such manner as we may have opportunity to give it, I will conclude by wishing you success in the great work which lies before you. Your responsibilities are great. I beg of you to embrace and to utilize them. The time to do so is opportune with the drafting of your national declaration of independence, comprising your fundamental regulations. It will be easier to lay the proper foundation of a healthy labor movement now than when there might be concentrated effort made to abridge your opportunities to thoroughly organize into militant trade and employment associations. Take co-equal interest in economic as in political organization, and as good citizens you need to give undivided attention to both. It is a great honor and a great pleasure to have had this opportunity given me by President Wilson of the United States of America to convey the good will of the American people to you in Russia, and I herewith comply with his instructions and mandate in conveying that thought to you. Long live the Democracy of Russia!

ADDRESS OF JAMES DUNCAN

AT KADETSKY CORPUS, PETROGRAD, JUNE 29, 1917

AS a representative of the organized labor movement of North America, appointed by President Wilson to serve on the commission from the United States of America to the new republic of Russia, I bring you fraternal greetings. The purpose of the American Mission in coming to Russia and to Petrograd was not simply to bring a message, nor to deliver a lecture, but to congratulate you on the great revolution from autocracy to democracy which has just taken place; to ascertain your needs and methods and to offer such assistance as we in America can be to you in the present inspiring national development. It is also a great pleasure to me, as the international president of my own trade association and as vice-president of the great organized labor movement of America, to bring fraternal greetings from both organizations to you and to pledge our assistance in whatever way we can be of the fullest service to you. The Granite Cutters' Association of which I am a member and officer, began organizing one hundred years ago. It now includes ninety-six per cent of the men employed in the industry. We have one hundred and twelve unions in America, covering the United States and Canada, and which are amalgamated into a general organization—the American Federation of Labor—to which I have already referred and which, with the railroad men of America, number 2,500,000 workers.

In a general way and through our unions we demand that equal hours of labor and equal compensation be given to women workers as to men, for equal service, and we are endeavoring to organize all women workers into their respec-

tive trade or employment unions so that they may have the benefit of organized effort and activity to protect and assist them the same as men enjoy. It has been found to be very difficult to get employers to recognize this demand and to pay the same wages to women as to men for they have been accustomed to pay them a much lower rate. This was unfair to women workers and they were thereby used to hold down the wage rate paid to men.

In your present situation you are confronted with a great public responsibility. You are helping, even leading in the proper and permanent formation of representative government in Russia. Heretofore you have been oppressed both in political procedure and in trade union organization, so your activities thereunder have been principally devoted to a radical change from autocratic to democratic and essentially to representative government. Now the authority of autocrats in Russia has been repudiated and you are entrusted with the earnest and constructive work of helping to establish a system of government based upon the consent of those who are to be governed. No government can or should endure that is not based upon the general consent of the people who are to live under it. Recognizing this democratic concept and under the existing circumstances, the responsibility of this Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies is of the utmost importance. For untold centuries, those who follow you will refer back to your opportunity in helping to lay down the great fundamental principles of free and representative government and will point to your wisdom and to your foresight, in the same manner as the free citizens of the United States of America do now speak of the statesmanship of those who, one hundred and forty-one years ago, formulated the great declarations which form the basic structure of representative government in the greatest democracy the world has thus far witnessed. The republic

beyond the Pacific Ocean, proud of its history, jealous of its position among the great nations of the earth, and prepared to defend the principles of democracy against any or all interference, welcomes the citizenship of New Russia on this side of the Pacific to the dignified and honorable position of self-government and to the roster of twentieth century national democracies. Seldom in the world's history has such an opportunity fallen to the lot of responsible men. Republics in the past have been organized and too soon have passed into history because of not having been properly organized upon the true fundamentals of democratic government. They represented but a small portion of the people, that is, the aristocracy instead of all the people. Their laws were not formed for, nor to comprehend the will of those to be governed and, therefore, were doomed to passive existence.

Dynasties have risen and fallen in other countries much the same and because of similar misrule to that of the Romanoffs. Other dynasties have supplanted them and through similar tyrannical and extreme militaristic procedure, as has been and is yet practised under the rule of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, have kept the common people in degradation and in subjection. But a new time has come. The people as a whole dare to be free, they dare to govern themselves and throughout the whole world propose and expect to collaborate in the halls of legislation so that, if they must fight on the battlefields for defense of the rights of free people, they themselves will determine the course to pursue and against whom and for what purpose their life's blood is to be shed. In this magnificent aspect the people of America are with you. They have entered the war for that consummation. They propose that the free peoples of the civilized world shall stand together and shall fight together for liberty, for self-government, for free speech, for a free press, for free assemblage, and for the right to protest against wrongs,

whether economic or political, and that a public injury to one citizen shall be the concern of all citizens.

In this way misery, hunger, oppression, lack of employment, partition or desecration of the home circle and governmental interference with domestic well-being will be reduced to a minimum. In this way hope of betterment, a sufficiency of food, justice, reasonable guarantee of employment with all its beneficent encouragements, the virtues which brighten the home circle and which give life a humane tone bordering upon that which is divine, will be given due consideration and will be foremost in the minds of those entrusted with public legislation. As to general well-being and when your political activities have assumed a more definite and a more permanent attitude, perhaps the organized workers of America may have an opportunity to help in the great work in New Russia of organizing the unorganized working people into militant, useful trade unions. Those, with your soldiers, constitute the common people and the greatest of American Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, in one of his most lovable statements, with reference to the common people said that God Almighty must have loved them because He had made so many of them.

We desire to give you information about our own progress. You may thereby receive assistance by copying the methods which brought about our accomplishments and which will be of some service to you. At the same time we hope to have a chance to indicate to you some of the mistakes we have made so that you may profit by avoiding them. Through this comparison of events true and abiding progress will, we hope, constitute your new economic, industrial, and agricultural history.

We strongly recommend to your consideration speedy legislation in favor of a free, compulsory public school and general educational system. This should include provisions

for keeping boys and girls at school until they are at least fourteen years of age so that their bodies and minds may be fitted for active and useful lives. You should also provide for free textbooks for your public schools, containing truthful, useful, historical, industrial, and commercial information such as would lay a mental foundation in the youthful mind, thereby guaranteeing an intelligent, thrifty, liberal-minded citizenship. Such legislation would supply a double purpose. It would not only provide the essential education just referred to, but by keeping boys and girls at school until they are at least fourteen years old and giving them good opportunities for healthful exercise in playgrounds in their spare moments, they will grow up strong, bright and useful citizens, and during this period will not be used in mills and factories at low wages, unjustly competing against adults for employment. There is nothing more deteriorating to the public welfare than the species of corporation greed which makes money out of the employment and really out of the lives of young children. Get into your minds and forever adhere to the thought that public education will be found to be the greatest asset of your new democracy. You will do well as working men and soldiers to encourage, in as far as you can do so, that such an educational system as I have referred to will be one of the leading provisions in your contemplated national constitution, or bill of rights, or whatever the new magna charta may be designated.

Enlightened public opinion, the development of your vast national resources, encouragement of the arts and sciences and your broadened public conscience will constitute the greatness of New Russia. This will so far excel the alleged greatness of your neighboring countries who believe and legislate that the arbitrement of the sword should be considered paramount, that by comparison your position will be considered true civilization, and those dark and reactionary

forces I have referred to will be considered relics of barbarity. It is in that which a country excels that its true greatness is recognized, so in preparing your constitutional regulations give free hand to human affairs. Encourage domestic virtues and so go in evidence that all the people in New Russia will breathe more freely and will know that the greatest of all revolutions, that of the Russias in 1917, stands out in history as being as unparalleled in bloodlessness as its new constitution may be unprecedented in raising the human equation from semi-serfdom and from race prejudice to a position which will make the Russia of the future loved at home and respected abroad.

Permit a word about the eight-hour work day. My own trade and in fact the building and many other trades throughout North America enjoy the eight-hour work day. We have a half holiday upon Saturdays. This makes a work week of forty-four hours. We also have a government eight-hour law directly applying to work for the government. Foreseeing the possibilities of emergencies, for sometimes the workingmen are the real statesmen, we provided that the limit of the working day in the event of war, for instance, would not arbitrarily apply. President Wilson fully agreed with us in this view and implicitly trusted to our coöperation in his enormous responsibility; and, in accordance with the constituted authority in the law the work day on war materials and on incidental appurtenances has been extended to meet war needs. Also in accordance with its provisions, whenever the emergency is over the law automatically resumes its normal functions. Thus we had provided for such an occasion and thereby did not have our eight-hour law revoked nor was there need for abridging its purposes when the war emergency arose. We recommend this subject to your careful consideration, for although you may not have similar eight-hour work day regulations as we have, and may not

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have a provision for war or other emergency similar to what I have just referred to, the underlying principle will be found to be of great assistance to those of your people who in factories, mines, mills, and shops are employed on war materials for use of the soldiers you represent and who are at the front in your country's service, trying to make the war short, decisive and victorious to Russia and her allies. In this way the man behind the hammer and the pick can perform essential if not co-equal service to the activities, sacrifices and patriotism of the man behind the gun. Both need to work conjointly for the common good.

Naturally soldiers at the front cannot be governed by an eight-hour work day provision. War is not conducted in that way. Workers in mills, factories, and shops who are doing their part in assisting the soldiers at the front, need, however, to give the best possible service within the twenty-four hours composing a day to be helpful to the soldiers. In doing so there will even then be less hardship to them than to the stout-hearted and brave men in the trenches, or who are striking terror into the heart of the enemy with large caliber guns. In order to keep the soldiers well supplied with the material they need in their arduous and patriotic work, the example of our workers in America should be followed by you. The recommendation is, therefore, strongly put up to this Council of Workmen and Soldiers, to use all your possible influence in favor, if need be, of the full twenty-four hours in each day, six days of the week, being used in shops, mills, and factories to provide the essential equipment to properly support your soldiers at the front. Practice and statistics both prove beyond doubt that if workers are employed more than eight hours in twenty-four, they are not so efficient after they have worked eight hours as up to that time. Consequently the same workers should not be expected or required to work more than eight hours in any twenty-four-

hour day, unless in very great emergency, but two shifts of workers, each of eight hours, or, if occasion calls for it, three shifts, each of eight hours, in the twenty-four-hour day should not only be encouraged, but should be urged in order that your government may thereby have evidence that those in the workshops are performing their full duty to your government and to your soldiers. It was to meet such a condition that the emergency clause was added to our eight-hour law and it is not only working well, but proved the efficiency and the patriotism of our workers in their efforts to supply munitions to all soldiers entrusted with the arduous duty of fighting the foes of freedom. The time has come when autocracy and democracy should not both longer exist. One must give way to the other. We in America stand for democracy and we appreciate the fact that New Russia desires our coöperation. This new partnership joins the old world to the new, and gives notice to whom it may concern that freedom of action and liberty of thought and expression must prevail.

The right to go on strike against injustice, oppression, long work days or inadequate wages, is one of the God-given privileges of free men. No man, however, whose mind is on the level desires to go on strike simply for bravado. Workers have their own welfare to conserve and the brightness of the home circle to respect, so they do not lightly regard this important subject. Therefore, while this God-given privilege should be at all times within our power, striking should be resorted to only when more friendly methods of adjustment of trade contentions have failed. What I have said about the strike, more forcefully can also be applied to corporations or other employers locking out the workers, for usually a lock-out is accompanied with despotic cruelty, sometimes with brutality. The better way is to have trade agreements between workers and their employers. These should contain conditions of

employment mutually arranged by a committee representing the workers and a committee representing the employers. This is what we call collective bargaining. It will be found to be of great advantage to have a provision in such an agreement for an effort mutually to adjust disputes. In such a manner workers can have their grievances redressed without causing or incurring drastic procedure.

In connection with the whole subject kindly take a word of advice from the organized workers of America and see to it that, in addition to your political activities and the passage of humane laws by your legislative bodies, the workers in the several employments throughout Russia fully and strongly organize into unions. Our experience in America has been that however beneficent a law may appear to be, and however sympathetic the law-making body may be, the politician or other official to whom authority is given to administer the law may become careless, sometimes antagonistic, and where there is not strong economic organization to demand enforcement of the law, it is difficult to get the labor measure fairly administered. The politicians will tell you that redress may be had through the courts. Such a course would practically make workers policemen, as it were, over the acts of those employing them and would raise legal animosity which between worker and employer is very distasteful and unsatisfactory. We find that when it is known by the government official that members of the trade union will go on strike rather than to submit to infringement of the law or to other injustice, he is more respectful of the provisions of the law.

In America until recently, in the minds of many corporation managers, the labor power of a human being was considered to be a property right. After many years of legal wrangling and contention the Congress of the United States, with the approval of President Wilson, eventually passed a measure for which organized labor had contended, which

plainly and tersely sets forth that the labor power of a worker is not a commodity or article of commerce. A man's labor power is part of his life just as is his eyesight or any of the senses. It comes into existence when he is born, it may be affected by injury to him, it goes out of existence at his death, it is not transferable, it is a quality of life and belongs to him to exercise singly or collectively as he pleases. His labor power is, therefore, his prerogative and not a property right of his employer. When this is clearly understood and fairly recognized, a worker is placed in a position to demand his rights and to exercise his functions as a human being, the same as any other citizen.

Later on, through exchange of communications, correspondence, trade journals and statistical documents, we will endeavor to explain to the workers in Russia how the working people in America have benefited by recognition of what we term " trade labels." Our clothing, our boots and shoes, the cigars and tobacco we smoke, the papers and books we read, can all be marked by registered trade labels which give guarantee to the purchaser that the commodity purchased has been produced under union conditions, fair compensation, decent conditions of living and improved sanitation in workshops, for these are qualifications of trade union, in other words, of collective agreements.

We firmly believe in you and in your faith for the future of your country. We know that you will not only preserve, but will improve upon your strong national character and this will mean that the Russian people will maintain and utilize the advantages they have gained through your revolution. We are not dismayed by, nor do we give much credence to, the pessimistic reports we hear about your internal affairs. Keep on doing your best and all will be well. You have come through the greatest of revolutions better than even many of your friends expected, and those who are

opposed to you would not be satisfied nor would they give you credit for, nor encouragement in your endeavors, whatever you might accomplish. In short they would wish for your downfall, as a means to their own unworthy purposes. Do not be discouraged by their apathy nor permit them to interfere with your solidarity and progress.

It is with pleasure I have this opportunity to report to you the great enthusiasm in the United States over the Russian Mission which is now proclaiming the same sentiments of friendship and of good will there that the commission of which I am a member is conveying to the people of Russia. Ambassador Bakhmetieff and the Russian Mission were given an audience in our House of Representatives at Washington at which all the members of the House and Senate were present. Each of the Russian Mission was introduced to each of our Senators and Congressmen after they had listened with great interest and much respect to the address of your ambassador. In reply to that address the speaker of our House of Representatives, one of the greatest democrats of our time, made suitable reply. He welcomed the Russian Revolution and compared it to the French Revolution. Incidentally he reminded his audience that when the United States became a democracy there was but one other republic in the world, namely, Switzerland, and that Russia was the twenty-seventh kingdom which had introduced a republican form of government. He ended his eloquent statement with a remark that in his opinion the Russian Revolution is the greatest political event known in history.

Bear in mind that new power brings new responsibilities. The greatest of vices is tyranny. Neither practice it yourself nor permit it to be practiced upon you. Russia has had more than her share of it. Toleration of your neighbor's views is a great virtue. Russia in this critical moment should cultivate it. Being trusted with the science of popu-

lar government and conscious that laws must be respected, amending or repealing them as necessity requires, assistance and loyal support should be given to your public officials in the fulfillment of the new duties assigned to them. Such support will do more to establish respect for and confidence in your young democracy than any other single thing. Again pledging to you the greatest possible assistance of the organized workers and of all the people of America in your economic and political development and expressing the hope that when we here assembled shall have passed from this life to that which is beyond we may feel that we have helped to make the world better than when we came into it, and so that our children will bless us for the heritage, I wish you Godspeed.

ADDRESS OF JAMES DUNCAN

AT A RECEPTION BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 15, 1917

IT is a great honor indeed to a representative of workingmen to have an opportunity to stand here for a few moments and compare notes with you upon the subject perhaps dearest to my heart, the welfare of the workingmen the world over.

After the most excellent and very eloquent address you have just heard, and which has been the third eloquent address that our ambassador extraordinary has delivered today, I will not think of touching upon the general subject which took this Mission to Russia. I will content myself, therefore, with saying, as your excellent chairman has said, "a few words," and will confine them more or less to the working people of Russia and their relationship to the working people of this country and, vice versa, our working people to them.

Incidentally, and for fear I might forget this point when my mind is dwelling upon the situation as we found it in Russia, I desire to say to you that I think there are few men in these United States of America who know the character and the temperament of the working people of America better than I do. I was an humble working boy in New York City so long ago that I will not mention it, because it would give away my age, and I have grown up among them as a member of my own trade union, mingling with others, and if I did not know something of them I would know little indeed. I am assured, as we are met here tonight, that the

working people of the United States of America, and especially the organized workmen from whom I hold a credential, are as solidly back of our great President and the great policies at the present time as any class of citizens in the United States.

The workingman who falters at a time like this is unworthy of the name of citizen. We are a great cosmopolitan population and among the people generally there may be found one or two or three or a number here and there who have slid from grace just the same as we find throughout the United States certain kinds of crime committed by certain kinds of citizens, and no one would be foolish enough to judge our great nation and our great civilization by those men guilty of crime. Our labor organizations and the working people, wherever they have had a chance to express themselves, have sent word to President Wilson that they are with him and back of him and will support him to the limit in these contentions, and why shouldn't they? If anything were to happen to the public institutions of our country, would they not be the people who would suffer the most? Those who are better off in the way of wealth, under oppression could get along better than the common people without wealth, who would suffer because of the loss of our great institutions, and those people know what freedom and liberty means to them, and are willing to and will be found fighting for them.

In so far as the Russian working people are concerned, you heard our great chairman say that Russia was practically a country without policemen. Friends, we were approximately one month in Petrograd and several days in Moscow, the two greatest cities in Russia, both of them having considerably over two million inhabitants, and in Petrograd, in addition to that, one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers in the locality, and we saw no evidence of drunkenness, we

did not even see a fist fight, and the dear, good women of Russia in Petrograd can go on the streets equally as safely as our dear, good women here in New York walk upon Fifth Avenue. People who, under such circumstances, can hold such great restraint, can be trusted to build up an everlasting democracy. Perhaps it will be interesting to you to know why in those large cities there are no police, and as the situation is so closely intermingled with the activities of the working people there, I am going to tell it to you. Immediately the police in Petrograd saw that the revolution was about to be a success, and fearful lest some of their documents would be incriminating against them, they got tortious, and set the Palace of Justice in flames, not so much to wreck the building, as in order to burn the documents which might contain evidence of their own injustice. When the workingmen and soldiers saw what they had done, they also got tortious, and went into the police headquarters and set the police headquarters on fire. Some of them told me that they borrowed a phrase from the United States, namely, they " smoked them out," for be it known to you, when the average Russian hears of anything clever being done in any part of the face of the earth, and if it is not done in America, those who hear the man telling of it immediately say to him " like what they do in America "; if it is done in America, then they say, " just like America, always ahead." The reverence they have for our country is most remarkable. The police were smoked out. When they got on the sidewalk they threw their hands up in good old-fashioned manner and begged that the workingmen and soldiers making the revolution would not kill them, and those good, noble-hearted workingmen and soldiers said to them, " If you will go to the front and fight, your lives will not be endangered by us "; and because of the crimes they had previously committed, the policemen would rather choose to take chances with the

tender mercies of the Germans than to put themselves in the hands of the people they had oppressed.

Now as to the need for policemen. It is true that instead of policemen there was an occasional militiaman upon the street. He was distinguished from an ordinary soldier by a white band around his arm; but all the activity that the militiaman had to do along the lines of police duty was to act as what you would call the traffic squad, prevent cars and vehicles from running over women and children and other people at crossings. There was little for them to do as policemen elsewhere. Prior to the revolution about the only thing that the policemen had to do in the way of clubbing the poor people was for violation of the Czar's rules; the Czar having gone, his rules went with him; therefore those rules were not in danger of being violated, and enough time had not passed, if you please, for them to cultivate a new system of crime for which they should be clubbed, and they were going about the streets in perfect harmony.

In 1905 the Czar ordered the Duma to cease its existence. He also had regulations whereby secret societies could not exist in Russia, and trade unions were classed among secret societies. Therefore if the workmen formed themselves into unions, they had to be called by some other name or they had to meet so secretly that even the alert policemen of the Czar could not find them.

The workmen in the great industrial centers are fairly well educated. It is the workmen in the rural districts, and the peasants, who are illiterate and who make up about 80 to 90 per cent of the population of Russia, including Siberia. Following the disbanding of the 1905 Duma — and I want to explain in a few words and not to give an historical account, it is connected with the working people as I have said — following the dissolution of the 1905 Duma, the working people in the industrial centers, who could read and

write, saw that if ever there were a possibility of overthrowing the Czar and absolutism in Russia, it must be by a line-up between the workingmen and the soldiers. The armies, so far had stood by the Czar; the officers of the army were the upper classes, and the common soldier came from the districts of the illiterate to which I have referred. The workingmen pursued a course whereby, through pamphlets and papers, they got information here and there to the younger peasants, and although so very illiterate, occasionally one was found to be able to read, and it was the easiest thing to get an audience; by forties, fifties and hundreds the illiterate gathered around the man who could read, to hear what was being said, and they had instructions that whatever else they did, they should read the subject of those pamphlets to the young men not yet old enough to enter the army. It began to have its effect. Those workingmen's organizations could not get this literature to those men after they were in the army, the Czar and his friends saw to that; consequently the work had to be done before the young men entered the army.

Such of you as have studied the subject of illiteracy will have in mind that apparently God and Nature have done something for the illiterate which they may not have done to the educated, because when an illiterate man or woman hears something which strongly appeals to them they remember it much better than do the literate, because the educated man can refer back to his notes at any time and he does not charge his memory with it as does the illiterate man who has no hope of ever hearing it again, and therefore stores it away.

By that course those subtle workingmen started the revolution soon after the fall of the Duma in 1905. They told the young soldiers that one of these days the workingman and the soldier would have to get together and instead

of dissolving Dumas, dissolve the Czar! They kept it up all of these years, those who were most forceful among them, putting in some of the time in Siberian prisons. There are five members of the Provisional Government of Russia at the present time, who have put in the most of the last twelve years in Siberian prisons, and some of them were let out from Siberian prisons since the revolution, and are now sitting in the cabinet of that nation.

Tseratelli, whom we would call here the Postmaster General, the Minister of Posts and Post Roads, put in ten out of twelve years in Siberia. The Minister of Labor, Sokoloff, the same thing. Immediately they got out of prison, they delivered another revolutionary address, knowing that that was the only thing they could do to re-echo their feelings, and immediately that address was delivered they were given two more years either in the same cell or in a worse one for having done it.

That is the kind of warfare those workingmen have been doing for these last twelve years, and so suddenly did the revolution this year come upon them, that sitting at luncheon with the American ambassador, with three members of the cabinet, they told us that last January they had not the faintest idea that the revolution would occur this year. Because of not expecting it to come so soon, they had not men properly trained to take the places of the men who had been in office. There were men plentiful in the ranks with brains enough to do it, but they had not had an opportunity to learn how, nor to put their activities in that direction. Those with ability have been putting in time in Siberia just for fear that they might be drafted for the very thing that in time did happen.

The spark that touched this off was an act of the Czar. He ordered the Duma in the early months of this year to dissolve. In the meantime, the workingmen, through the

representative organizations, under surreptitious names, had a general understanding. Many of their officers were with them but did not care publicly to say so. Many were opposed to them, and treated them with the greatest possible cruelty imaginable.

The Czar declared that the Duma should be dissolved. The Duma sent word to the Czar that they were not going to dissolve. Without waiting for further activities of that kind, and for fear the Czar might win or the Duma might weaken, the workmen and soldiers declared for the revolution and in three or four days the Czar became Nicholas Romanoff, citizen of Russia, and somewhat " undesirable " at that.

You know that the parallel is not exactly correct, but you will have seen in certificates which doctors give when some good soul has gone to Heaven, that the general cause of death was so and so, the immediate cause of death was so and so. The general cause of the revolution was the activities of the workingmen and soldiers that I have referred to, and the specific thing which brought it about was the refusal of the Duma to dissolve, and the revolution was on. Not too much credit can be given to those astute workingmen's organizations throughout Russia for the magnificent campaign of education they entered into with such poor material with which at least to start it.

It was a great pride to me to be selected by the President of our country to represent the working people, to go with such illustrious colleagues to Russia to try to perform my part in this great work. I endeavored to do the best that was in me, not lecturing them, but talking to them, telling them of what we had accomplished in those 141 years in America under freedom, saying to them if there was anything in the course we had followed of advantage to them, to make use of it, also telling them of some of our shortcomings so that they might try and avoid them. Fortunately our

Mission was looked upon differently by the people in Russia than any other visitor or visitors from other countries before us. In the first place, our country through the President and Ambassador Francis were the first agencies and the first government to recognize the revolution, and when the revolutionists knew that the United States of America had directed the ambassador to recognize them, they felt exactly what happened, that the other great governments of the world would try to outdo each other to be the second or third to recognize them, and therefore the revolution was secured internationally equally with the probability of its perpetuity in their own country. Happily, with the good opinion they already had of America, we tried to convey to them the hope and aspirations of the American people for their democracy, praised them for having begun it, told them that with such characters as they had and with such great possibilities in men, minerals and land, there was no reason why they should not make one of the greatest democracies the world has ever seen. Then after we got them interested in that line of presenting our case, and knowing that we came with a word of advice and assistance, rather than to enlighten them, they sat peacefully and in the end loudly cheered the remarks which we had to make when in such eloquent terms as the Senator has given to you tonight, it was suggested to them that the soldiers of all the Allies should fight together for international democracy.

The working people of Russia are back of their government even in its provisional form with a majority of the cabinet holding over from the old Duma. As soon as they have their constitutional convention, the working people will be found rallying strongly to the support of that constitution. Kindly do not judge the Russian workingman by the fault-finder. He is not in the majority. They have in the present council of workingmen and soldiers, which perhaps

is the only body carrying a mandate at the present time from the Russian people, because they have been elected by popular vote to that council — they have about eight hundred members and when a test vote came in that body as to the support of actions of the Provisional Government, the vote stood a little over six hundred in favor to about one hundred and fifty against. One hundred and fifty against, of course, can make a great noise, and somehow I have never been able to find out how it is that the press of any country, and ours is no exception — if there are two or three in a meeting not in accord with the general concept, and they express themselves, there is usually fully as much attention given to the very small minority as to the excellent proposition which the great majority had stood for. And that is why you have heard so much about the working people not being loyal to the country, and the soldiers and sailors not being loyal to their officers. There are many things in common between the Russian people and our own people. The working people of Russia say that they want our statistics. They want reports from our Secretary of Labor at Washington, and they want to know about the actions of our several legislatures upon workmen's compensation, the adjustment of disputes in so far as boards of arbitration can do so. You can see their minds are running in the right direction, and I pledged them that so far as I was concerned, all the documents we could send would be sent either from the Department of Labor at Washington or from the several states having laws of that kind, and documents showing how they are operated will be sent to them along with the trade journals of our great labor unions and their statistics showing their methods of transacting business, and their loyalty to their government.

Gentlemen, I thank you very kindly for your indulgent attention.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF WORKMEN'S, SOLDIERS', AND PEASANTS' DELEGATES, JUNE 12, 1917

I AM truly grateful for this proud privilege of standing before the proletariat of Russia, free and arisen in its might. I have good reason to be proud. I hold in one hand the red card of the Socialist Party of the United States and in the other the card of the printers' trade union, the International Typographical Union, of which I am a member. I come therefore from the plain people of America, from the workers, the radicals, the American socialists, the champions of democracy. I come from them to greet the freemen and freewomen of Russia, not merely with words of affectionate greeting and warmest admiration but with the feelings that are beyond all words and need no words. What I say to you with my lips, indeed, is strange to you as we have different mother tongues, but the hearts of all men that love liberty speak one common language, and straight from the heart of democratic America I speak to the great, pulsing heart of democratic Russia.

I have come to try to tell how profoundly we thank you for your magnificent services to the democratic cause. You yourselves can hardly know what you have meant to the rest of the world. For freedom and the emancipation of man the Russian revolution was the grandest event in human history. The news of it ran about the globe like the light of a great new fire. It was as if in the darkest night a new planet had suddenly arisen greater than the sun. In every country all men that love liberty and serve her took on new life, new faith, and new hope from your achievement. There is not a

toiler in any land whose burden is not the lighter and whose heart is not the happier as he thinks of you and your work. In my country it was as if a wonderful electrical current or spirit had gone over us to nerve us to new duty, new devotion and new sacrifice for the cause we love. In your triumph we saw the hope of the freedom of the world, and for that great, splendid inspiration, also, we thank you.

I have still another mission to perform before you, for I come from the most peace-loving part of the least warlike population on earth to call you brothers in arms. For many years now the United States of America has been not only devoted to peace and pursuing it, but has honestly and trustingly believed in it. We had steadfastly refused to follow the other nations in their preparations for war because we would not believe that any occasion could arise that could break our friendly relations with other peoples. Judged by the standards of the rest of the world, we had no army, we had next to no navy, we had no ammunition, we had no war-making machinery. Two years ago one German army carried with it into Serbia seven times as much artillery as there was in the entire United States, with its one hundred and ten millions of population. We showed to the world and were proud of it, a spectacle unequaled in history, a frontier line four thousand miles long without a soldier, without a fort, and without a gun. We showed to it the only national capital where a soldier's uniform was so rare it was an object of curiosity, and where not one public building was ever guarded by a single bayonet. We loved peace, we hated war.

Of all the Americans that hated war, the Americans I represent here hated it most. We hated it and year after year we denounced it. Today this peace-loving American nation is plunged with all its might and resources into deadliest war. Today it is straining every nerve to achieve the utmost skill and efficiency in this warfare it used to hate. Today

the nation that had no army is busily raising and equipping an army of millions. Today the American radicals, workers, and democrats have united fervently to support and uphold this dreadful thing they had always abhorred.

Wonderful and amazing change! What has brought it about?

This has brought it about; that we found after two years and a half of patient sufferance that except by warfare there was absolutely no other way to preserve liberty, and we put liberty above life. By every conceivable means we strove to escape this conclusion.

So long as it was humanly possible we clung to the illusion that in a struggle to the death between the colossal opposing forces of autocracy and democracy there could be some other solution than the use of physical force. While we still held to this hope we endured what no other strong nation in this world has ever dreamed of enduring. Smitten on one cheek we continually turned the other. It was not until we perceived that autocracy was bent upon the destruction of liberty on earth and that nothing would stay it except the physical force it used only too successfully that we took up the sword, rather than see liberty crushed before our eyes and democracy in chains. Our liberty and yours, our democracy and yours, the light we have tried to bear and the splendid new hope with which you have brightened — all these were in imminent deadly peril of extinction.

We saw then that either we must fight or we must lose the things that are dearer than life and that alone make life worth while. If we had held our hands in such a cause we should have been cowards and poltroons, unworthy of our heritage of freedom. Every right that we enjoy has been won for us by the infinite toil and infinite sacrifice of those who have gone before us. Every free word uttered by free men in a free assembly has been purchased by the blood of

some hero in the long struggle. Age after age men have laid their lives unfalteringly upon this altar that we might be free. To accept and enjoy what they won for us with their blood and tears and yet refuse to raise a hand that these hard-won liberties might live upon this earth and not perish, would mean that we had become the lowest creatures that crawl upon this earth.

Thus we, loving peace and professing brotherhood, were driven into war. Have we, then, abandoned our old faiths or lost our old hopes ? Not one; not one. We make war that we may have peace. We strike not in spite of our ideals but because of them and for them. We do not despair of the coöperative commonwealth; on the contrary we begin now to see it as a reality and not as a dream. We know that democracy is all in all. We know that without democracy there can never come socialism, never come peace, never come the emancipation of man. We see that without democracy we can never right the ancient wrongs of labor, never gain for the producer the just fruits of his toil, never free men's hearts and lives from the frightful blight and cold horrors of the competitive system. We see the old beast of autocracy rearing itself in its last effort to drag freedom back into the abyss of slavery. We know that if it succeeds all that has been slowly won for us in the centuries past and all we hope for in the centuries to come are blasted forever and in the name of the social revolution for which we are enlisted we drive against the monster the sword of freedom.

We battle side by side with you to preserve for all of us the priceless boon you have won. We fight that such sacrifices and such labors as yours shall not be lost, that your dead shall not have died in vain, that all other men may have a chance to be as free as you are, that the torch you have lighted shall not fall back in night but shine before a world still in bondage. And our word to you is, Lead on. You

know the road. Where the great Russian democracy goes we are proud and glad to go with you. Lead on, and Russia and America, bound by the ties of the same great purpose will drive the last oppression from its seat and beat the last shackle that binds the limbs or the minds of men into emblems of liberty, progress, and light.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

AT THE DEMONSTRATION IN BEHALF OF THE SOLDIERS AT PAVLOSK-VOKSAL, JUNE 30, 1917

I HAVE come twenty thousand versts to bring to the revolutionists of Russia greetings and an expression of profound gratitude and good will from the socialists and advanced democrats of America. When I look over this audience and look into your faces I understand that if I saw nothing in Russia but just this meeting, my long journey would have been justified. It is a great thing to look upon men that know what is at stake in this war and are not afraid to die for the faith that makes us free. You, at least, have not been deceived. You see clearly the terrific issues of the conflict. You know that as this war shall result so all the world shall be for centuries to come either slave or free, either autocratic or democratic. You feel that a world dominated by the iron fist of militarism would not be fit to live in. You feel with us that no sacrifice is too great to avert from our children and their children a calamity so vast and so eloquent of despair to all mankind. The success of Germany in this war would mean that all the world would become an armed camp. All the thoughts of men would be centered upon war. All the ingenuity of men would be directed to inventing new instruments of war. All the energies of men would be expended upon conquest or defense. In such a state of society everything that we care about, as radicals and reformers, would fall into a common abyss of ruin. Not one hope would be left for any plan of human betterment, social improvement or the education that exalts the soul as much as it informs the mind. Man would revert everywhere to the condition of

the primitive savage, whose faith would be destruction, whose art would be murder and whose civilization would be that of the jungle.

That we of America are now enlisted in the great struggle against the disaster that threatens the world we owe very largely to you of Russia. It was your great revolution that had the most powerful effect in bringing us to a sense of our duty. For two years and eight months we stood aloof from the conflict. Men said that we were afraid to fight, that we had been terrorized by German power and efficiency. When we endured more than any other strong power had ever endured and still withheld our hand, men said that we were bribed into silence by the huge profits we gathered as a neutral.

None of these charges had any truth. But so long as Russia was an autocracy we could see no essential difference between the two sides. We could not see any particular choice between the autocracy of Russia and the autocracy of Germany. It looked to us like a struggle between autocracies in which we had no basic concern. We could see no principle at stake that involved the fundamental faith to which we are pledged. But the moment there came the wonderful news of your magnificent revolt all this began to change. We saw then that the conflict was between the fundamental principles of autocracy and democracy. We saw that if Germany should win, this freedom of yours that had thrilled us and fired us with the greatest hope and joy we had ever known, would be instantly destroyed. We saw in the triumph of Germany the return of the Romanoffs and the pall of darkness that you so bravely had thrown off. We knew that the fate of freedom in Russia depended upon the defeat of imperialism in Germany and in such an issue no people with the creed of liberty in their hearts could hesitate.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

AT A RECEPTION BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 15, 1917

NOTHING would seem to be more superfluous than to come before the Union League Club with an appeal to patriotism. Looking back over your long and magnificent record of devotion to your country, no man can think of any words that could carry to you a message greater, more profound or more feeling than you already have in your hearts. But, having you here now before me, I am going to take advantage of this opportunity that you have been good enough to give me, not to appeal to patriotism, but to offer to you as a humble citizen, a word of heartfelt thanks for the magnificent example of unselfish devotion that you have given to the country in this emergency.

Do you think of it ? You have set the stamp of falsehood upon that libel that the American is only a dollar hunter. You have shown that when the nation is in danger, nothing is of any importance to you except her safety. You have proved to the world that we are not only the greatest business nation in the world, but that we are also the greatest idealistic nation, that this dollar hunt is only a surface matter, but that in our hearts, we carry all the time love of the Republic, willingness to serve her, and if necessary willingness to die for her.

Oh, loyal American, if I could have carried you with me to Russia, loyal American not only in New York but loyal American anywhere in this country, it would not be necessary to say a word to you in behalf of democracy in Russia. I

would have shown you there this people, suddenly clothed with opportunity and duty, rising to it steadily, the great heart of Russia set on fire with hope and faith, and lighting with the creed of democracy, struggling on in the face of every possible discouragement, and still struggling on. I would have taken you to the greatest legislative body in the world, this National Council of workingmen, soldiers and peasants delegates, and I would have shown you there men whose hands were still hard from the plough-handle, men who came right out of the factory, workingmen, sitting in this legislative body and carrying on the unaccustomed business of a great nation with certainty, with foresight, with deliberation, with firmness and devotion to a common cause. It would have set you on fire.

Disloyal American, disloyal American that disgraces the Congress of the United States, traitor in disguise that has taken the oath of allegiance and goes to the Senate of the United States to do the dirty work of the Kaiser, oh, could I have taken you by the throat, and dragged you to Petrograd to put you up there in the Field of Mars on a Sunday afternoon and let you see the results of your work! For then you would have seen these miserable, fawning, slimy creatures that take the dirty money of Germany, some of them — shamed I am to tell you of it, some of them with American passports in their pockets. You would have seen them going from crowd to crowd upon that field and repeating your words of treason, quoting you, quoting what you say in the Senate of the United States; when you introduce a resolution demanding that the Allies shall state their terms, within three weeks those words will be repeated by the agents of Germany. When you introduce a resolution in Congress looking towards a peace conference, within three weeks those words will be repeated upon the Field of Mars, and they will be quoted in this way.

These agents will say, " We have always told you that the people of the United States were not in this war; we have always assured you that this war was made by the Government of the United States, but not by the people; we have always told you that the Government of the United States is merely a government of capitalists, that it is merely a government of munition makers; that this war was created by the American munition makers for their protection, and here is the proof. The Senator of the United States has said this in the Senate, he has appealed for peace; he has declared he represents the people of the United States; it is the voice of the people, then, not alone the voice of the Senator."

That, disloyal Senator, is the result of your work, and every word that you utter in the Senate of the United States in behalf of peace or in behalf of treason, every one of them, is a poisoned dagger plunged toward the heart of your country. It is terrible work, traitor, that you are doing, for upon your work hangs the possibility of the loss of a million American lives, and twenty billion dollars of American money.

Why do I say that ? For this reason. In existing condition of things in this war, the hope of democracy, the life of freedom, is hanging today upon that Russian line. You must understand that the free Russian, the Russian of the revolution, the Russian that has suddenly come upon democracy, is a man of great idealism. He is an altruist. He has imbibed fine, lofty, noble thoughts and aspirations about universal brotherhood, the union of all nations, the abolition of war, and the millenium. Russia, of course, is weary of the war, and if Russia should be made to think that the United States was not sincere, that it was not in earnest, and that it did not really mean to fight, that it was in this war only to get out of it as soon as it can, then the strength and courage and devotion of that thin Russian line might

waver, then there might come a German irruption through that line, then Russia might be cut into bits and eliminated from this war, and then those of you that know the actual conditions of the rest of the Allies today must have a clear belief and understanding in your minds of what that would mean to the United States. We should be left alone, practically speaking, to carry this whole burden.

So, then, nothing is so dreadful, nothing is so appalling as to see a man that calls himself an American arising in the Congress of the United States to preach this most poisonous and perilous doctrine of disunion at this time. Instead of any such thought as that, instead of even the alluring term of peace, when there can be no peace, instead of any doctrine of holding, of hesitation, what is required now absolutely for the safety of the nation and for the safety of democracy, and the safety of the liberty of the world, is absolute union, absolute standing together, and absolute spirit of sacrifice to the last drop of blood if that is necessary, absolute everything we have.

And oh, American, American, she is worth it. She is worth it, there is not a doubt about it. The Republic is worth it all; the country is worth it all. Oh, not merely because it is ours, not merely because that is my flag — not only that. But it is what this country stands for in this most tremendous, critical moment of human history; what it stands for, that is it. It is the idea, it is the ideal of the Republic. Everything that we have under that flag has been purchased by drops of blood; every foot of the path of the Republic has been stained with blood and tears, every one. We have inherited this magnificent thing only because of the willing sacrifice of those who have gone before us, and now the proposition is that we shall calmly take all that magnificent heritage as ours, and be unwilling to make

one sacrifice in our turn. A dreadful and dastardly doctrine, which never should be uttered in free America. I would like to take the recreant American that hesitates now, that falters, that weighs, that stops to consider that he is afraid; I would like to take him and put him face to face with France. I would say, " If you can contemplate France, France that has lost 1,200,000 of her sons killed on the firing line, France who sees as many more of her sons crippled for life, France where four women of every five go dressed in deepest mourning, France that has become the place of tears, France that has lost so much and still goes on, always goes on, always ready to fight, never daunted in her courage, in her spirit, still with her face turned towards the stars, and she fights on; if you can hear the very name of France and not fall to the earth covered with shame, you have not one human sensibility."

And so, members of the Union League Club, no one can preach loyalty or patriotism to you; but bear in mind this, that you do have a voice that is heard throughout the nation; that you do have influence; that it is in your power to affect the situation; that you can do something to wake this nation. We do not yet understand, we do not feel, we do not see as a nation, we do not yet perceive that God has given to us this task. He has laid upon us this most solemn duty, that with all of the strength he has given us, with all of the wealth with which he has endowed us, with all of the intelligence, and all of the might and all of the gathered manhood of this country, we should go straight to the goal, and pay the price, whatever that may be. For the Republic, the Republic of the United States of America, is not a geographical expression, it is not a place upon a map, it is not certain marks on the atlas, it is an ideal, it is faith, it is a living creed, it means to the world all the difference between light and infinite darkness, between hope and despair, between life and death.

Redwood Library

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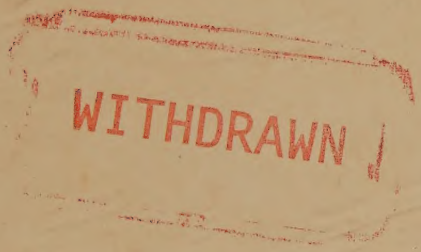

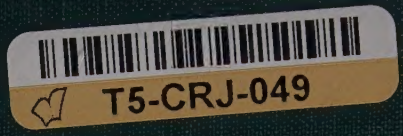
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